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**Loyalty, Commitment
and the Corporation of Kin:
Tonga as a Case Study.**

A Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

MPhil in Development Studies

at Massey University

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1997

Abstract

Kinships: Functional and Rational.

The economic effectiveness of the Tongan kinships in a capitalist economy is dependent, to a significant degree, on the transformations and changes that are made to the way the kinship relationships function. Researchers, such as Parsons (1949), suggest there needs to be a move away from the traditional kinship relationships to individualism and nuclear families, as this is ultimately the most effective way of operating in a capitalist, business environment. However, this thesis seeks to challenge this theory by examining the changes that are occurring in kinships within Tonga. Here modifications to the kinship system seem to be allowing the family to continue to operate as an extended kinship unit both socially and economically.

This thesis endeavors to suggest that the utilisation of the kinship structure offers considerable benefits for all of those involved, and because of this there is some degree of sustainability and durability in these extended family relationships. Essentially economic decisions and resources seem to be shared between kinship members because they seek a common goal to improve the standard of living for both the family and the individual. This is reinforced by the intrinsic senses of loyalty and commitment, which encourage practical working relationships between the family members, reducing internal competition and accommodating the sharing of resources.

For the individual involved in such a system the advantages of remaining within the kinship often counter the compromises and sacrifices required. For a young member of the group the system provides security and access to resources that otherwise would have to be obtained independently, which can be particularly difficult as often the young individual lacks both the equity and experience to readily obtain these resources. For the parents who wish to pursue a career the kinship network provides caregivers and accommodation for their children, either nearby or overseas, depending on where work is obtained and where housing and educational opportunities exist for their children. As for family members with entrepreneur aspirations, the other kinship members can add

value by supporting their endeavors through their custom, their help in setting up the business, their role in establishing the right business contacts, and through their supplying of goods and services both from home and overseas. Finally for the elderly or those poor of health, the other kinship members provide an essential social welfare service, within the security of the family structure.

However, this kinship system, apparent in Tonga, does not survive without commitment and compromise. Family members are encouraged from a young age to acknowledge and adopt traditional ideologies and perspectives which value the kinship system and the obligations which exist within. In addition to this the Tongan people also seek an economic rational for their involvement in the kinship network. Therefore, in moving from subsistence lifestyles to capitalism, Tongan kinships are readjusting their extent and nature of giving, their living arrangements and their attitudes towards investing and saving. These adjustments seem to be providing the kinship members, both at home and overseas, with a functional and rational economic system to work within.

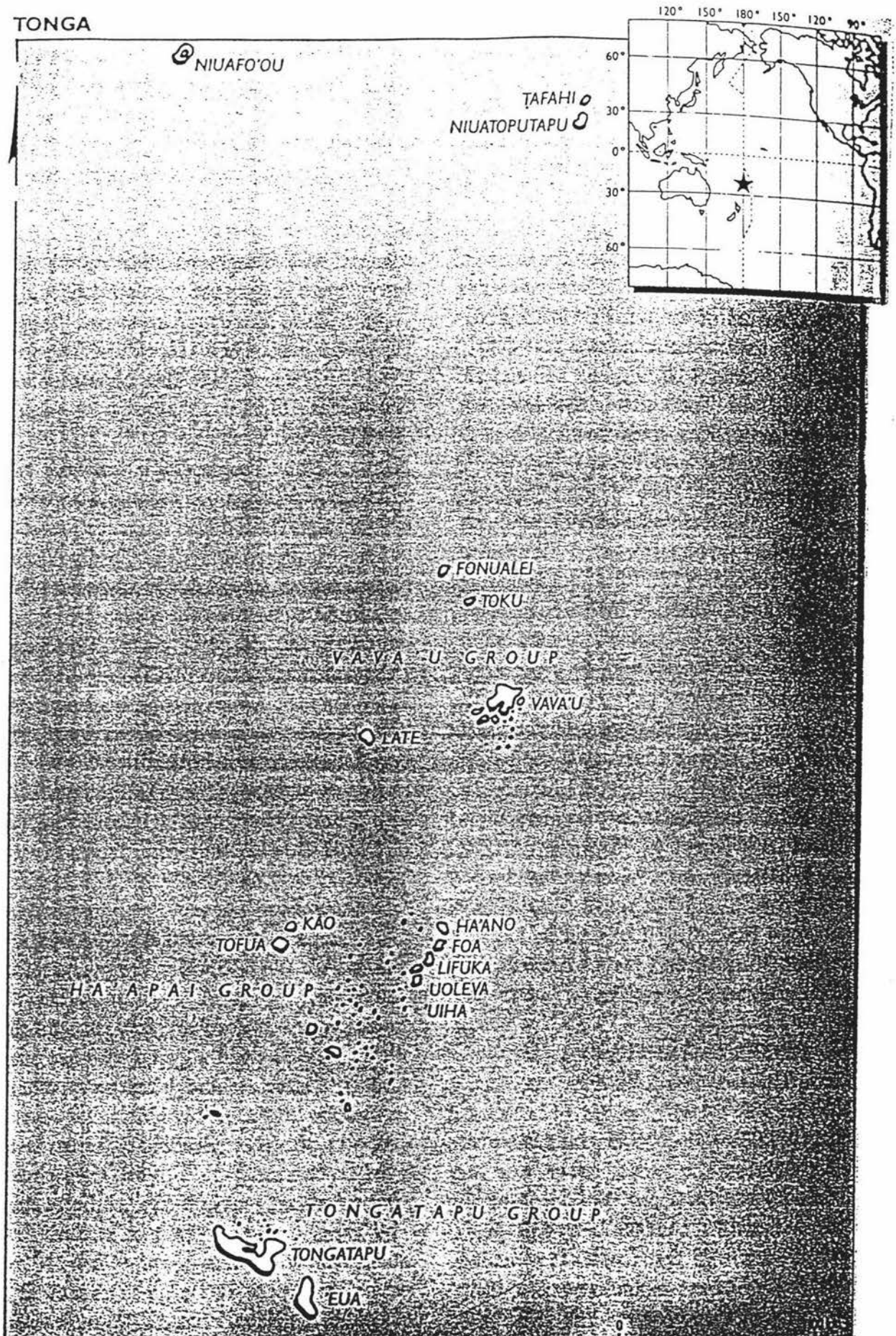
Acknowledgments

Many people have supported me in completing this thesis, and I wish to thank all of them for their time, resources and energy in assisting me to achieve this aim. Firstly I wish to thank those who provided the necessary resources and information I needed while I was Tonga, such as the staff at the Central Planning Department, particularly Fatai Flalaapiapi and Sione' U Faeamani, the staff at Atenisi, especially Maree Johnson and Futa Helu. In addition I wish to thank all those people that provided material for my research, particularly Denis Hayle, Vasa Vi and Sister Marina.

Back home I owe much to my lecturer, John Overton, for his patience and continued support at all stages of my thesis. In addition I wish to thank the staff at Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade for their encouragement and I thank them for the research grant provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Finally I wish to thank my family and friends for their encouragement, laughter and sharing of tears over the time of writing this thesis. Particularly I would like to say thank-you to my mother, Gwendolyn Ramsey, for her time and effort in editing my thesis, and Philippa Thompson for providing me with such essential resources as a place to stay.

TONGA



(Douglas and Douglas, 1994: 632)

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Chapter One.

"Our Sea of Islands"; Just Another Myth?

"We would, however, point out one aspect of the way in which Micronesian navigators conceptualised their navigational environment which highlights the confidence with which they work. The European, at sea in a small vessel, tends to envisage his situation as one in which his craft moves towards, passes by, and then away from fixed islands. The islands are secure and he is in motion. But Galdwin describes how the Puluwat navigator, once on course, inverts the concept and his navigational system considers the canoe to be stationary and the islands to move towards and past him. Such a vision seems to reflect a high level of security and confidence in the self-contained little world of craft, crew, and navigational lore.

We accept that the risks and dangers of the sea which seem to weigh heavily in the minds of continental men are not given such emphasis by island navigators today. And we may surmise that a western Pacific islander in the past might well sail east or south or north in search of new land, confident in the belief that, as usual, islands would rise over the horizon to meet him".

(Hau'ofa, Epeli (Ed.), 1993: 17)

Questioning Perceptions

Europeans and Pacific Islanders have very different perceptions of the Pacific region. The continental dwellers look at the Pacific and see a hole, a hole in a doughnut where the life of the Pacific is experienced around the rim in such countries as Japan, United States, Australia and even New Zealand. Within the middle they envision isolated, small insignificant islands, fragmented and far from the developed economies of the Western world. The islands of the Pacific are seen as the marginalised small island

states, where the long-term viability is questioned, where the countries are perceived to be dependent on foreign aid and remittances from the migrants who have moved on to the more affluent rim.

Such descriptions are often applied to Tonga. Here the economic development of the country is contingent, to a significant degree, on the extent of migration of its people and the potential usage of remittances sent home. This system could pose threats to development or offer opportunities for growth. For instance, migration can reduce the labour pool required for export lead growth or it can offer the kinship network access to economic resources in the neighbouring capitalist centres. The remittances that are sent home could merely increase the consumption of imported goods without improving the economy's long term viability for economic growth (Connell, 1980 and Hardaker, 1995). In fact the remittances may be short lived, reliably sent by the first and second generation at best, as individuals move away from the kinship structure and adopt Western values regarding the role and need for family (Grijp, 1993 and Tisdell and Fairbairn, 1984). Otherwise the remittances have the potential to be used by the families for business investments, education of the young and further commitment to travel and migration. Over time these remittances are reciprocated with goods and services being exported back out to kin based in the Pacific rim countries. In this way the system supports economic growth for the kinships, with the investments and business ventures established by these families in countries such as Tonga generating funds and raising the general standard of living for the members concerned (Bertram and Watters, 1986, Brown and Connell, 1993a, Faeamani, 1995 and Hau'ofa, 1993).

Economic development through this process is dependent on the senses of loyalty and reciprocity within the family group not being displaced by the individualism observed in capitalist societies. However, the cultural ideologies which traditionally motivated reciprocity between the kinship members are not sufficient to maintain the system in an environment of changing beliefs and economic opportunities for individuals. Whilst the traditional kinship system functioned well in the subsistence lifestyle, it has to adjust and restructure in order to continue to provide economic incentives in today's capitalist economy.

It is this readjustment and establishment of new economic objectives within the kinship structure which this thesis focuses on. Motivated by the work of Hau'ofa in his essay "Our Sea of Islands" (1993) this thesis seeks to examine the potential of kinships in economic development, while questioning the theory developed by Parsons (1949) which concludes kinships will not continue to operate as such in industrial societies.

Research in Tonga provides evidence to contradict Parsons. This work is discussed in Chapters Four and Five, while Chapter Six analyses and compares the evidence between the different theories. Chapter Two examines the opposing theories of kinship continuing in capitalist economies, comparing the work of Parsons (1949) with the ideas and studies of other researchers such as Bertram and Watters (1986). Chapter Three discusses the historical importance of Tongan kinships both socially and economically, and the constraints, now faced by the families, which encourage the strategy of migration and remittances. Chapter Seven draws this thesis to a conclusion by observing the "broader picture of reality" coupled with deliberating the need for further research in this area.

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the viewpoint of Hau'ofa and how he and others see the role of kinships in the remittance, migration economy and their subsequent potential to support economic development. Finally this chapter discusses the methods of research used in Tonga. The evidence obtained, indicates changes are occurring that are enhancing the durability of the kinship structures in Tonga's cash economy.

The Views of Hau'ofa

Fundamentally this thesis is a development of the ideas expressed by Hau'ofa (1993). Hau'ofa expresses his dissatisfaction at the negative Western world view that considers the islands as "too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth..." (Hau'ofa, 1993: 4). Instead he offers an alternative viewpoint, one that focuses on the value of the kinship system.

" On the other hand islanders in their homelands are not the parasites on their relatives abroad that misinterpreters of 'remittance' would have us believe. Economists do not take account of the social centrality of the ancient practice of reciprocity, the core of all Oceanic cultures. They overlook the fact that for everything homelands relatives receive they reciprocate with goods they themselves produce, and they maintain ancestral roots and lands for everyone, homes with warmed hearths for travellers to return to at the end of the day, or to re-strengthen their bonds , their souls and their identities before they move on again. This is not dependence but interdependence, which is purportedly the essence of the global system"(Hau'ofa, 1993: 12).

It is this interdependence between the kinships and the activities of the ordinary people that Hau'ofa points to as the "broader picture of reality" (Hau'ofa, 1993: 12). Hau'ofa highlights the essential role of the kinships in the social and economic environment of the Pacific Islands. Little is achieved without the assistance and advice of the kin group, each member plays a different part, yet working together for the good of the kinship. "Our system demands strong personal loyalty towards members of one's family and kainga groupings; it requires mutual assistance among kinsmen" (Hau'ofa, 1978: 161). Traditionally this system of kinship and reciprocity provided economic stability for the family unit. Working together as a group they were able to achieve more than if they worked alone. "Planting and harvesting of crops was shared among the household members and if a house needed to be built the friends and relatives would give up their free day to help build it" (Grijp, 1993: 219).

The kinship obligations connect and interweave the members of the family. Tongan individuals are compelled to provide free service and material gifts because of a moral obligation that is felt to serve others and the whole group. "Traditionally the Tongan family is an extended family. Your individual rights are intended to serve the common good. Here the individual is subordinate to the group" (Grijp, 1993: 176).

Today this kinship network has spread its wings and these groups are scattered throughout the Pacific: "islanders are much more concerned with maintaining ties with a wide range of relatives..., their social and kinship networks, along which they have traditionally moved goods and services as well as people, have widened in ways never before possible to cover Australia, New Zealand and the United States" (Hau'ofa, 1982: 21)

Hau'ofa suggest the "ordinary folk" of the South Pacific have resumed their ancient tradition of travel, emigration and establishment or re-establishment of kinship links throughout the Pacific, creating an interconnecting "sea of islands" where the friendships and relationships are maintained across the seas. Hau'ofa believes the desires and aspirations of the ordinary kinfolk help free them from the web of dependency which reduces the islands to small remote places.

Bertram also recognises the link between economic development and the use of the kinship system. He writes: "links between the capitalist and non-capitalist sectors are provided not only by bilateral transfers of funds between aid donor and recipient countries in the Pacific, but also by remittance transfers among various component parts of the "transnational corporation of kin" which direct the allocation of each island family's labour around the regional economy" (Bertram, 1986: 821). He continues:

"As for the sustainability of the migration/ remittance linkages between Island societies and the metropolitan economies, these seem likely to prove as durable as the transnational family enterprises which currently mediate them. On their present showing those kin networks will be a feature of the South Pacific regional economy for at least the next generation, and probably beyond" (Bertram, 1986: 821).

However, not all researchers perceive benefits from a reliance on a kinship system involved in migration and remittances. Hardaker (1995) disputes their sustainability and projects a rather more negative future for the 'transnational corporation of kin'. While he sees a "grain of truth" in Bertram's explanation that the Tongan society and economy

should be considered in relation to the whole group of ethnic Tongans the world over, he feels that the dishonesty and rent-seeking opportunities, originating from remittances and foreign aid, will not last for ever. "The damage that is being done to the economy, such as over-valued real exchange rates, by the cult of rent-seeking means that it is just about impossible to get any type of commercial productive activity going in the Kingdom on a sustainable basis" (Hardaker, 1995: 2). Other researchers such as Grijp (1993) also dispute the value of the remittance, migration system perceiving it to be short lived and detrimental to other forms of economic development, particularly as migration depletes the labour resource of the country.

James likewise questions the sustainability of remittances as demanded by the Bertram model and whilst suggesting other forms of remittances may occur, she still questions the dependency of countries on this system: "family members overseas are finding material remittances increasingly burdensome as their expatriate communities grow and experience constraints of unemployment or redundancies in the host countries" (James, 1991: 1).

These researchers who question the benefits of migration and remittances would appear to focus on the negative impacts of cash remittances imported into the country. There seems to be a failure to note the nature of reciprocity occurring within the South Pacific which encourages transferring, in addition to cash, goods, such as traditional goods and products, and services, such as fostering and accommodation, with family members in the surrounding countries. All of which are gifts that provide economic benefits to the individuals concerned.

Marcus (1981) observes this existence of a system of reciprocity. He notes that the kinships involved in this system of migration and remittance utilise their interlinking network of contacts and connections to enhance the potential of the system. "Property, businesses, positions, jobs, reputation, and influence with local authorities are typical kinds of resources developed by old and new elite families to obtain a foothold abroad" (Marcus, 1981: 58) Marcus goes on to explain: "The capacity to integrate all kinds of

resources, geographically separated is one of the key elements of economic strength and flexibility in elite family networks" (Marcus, 1981: 60).

Whilst Marcus chooses to describe these international families as "elite", Hau'ofa refers to them as the "ordinary people" of Tonga. My research and observations in Tonga involved discussions with families from the commoner class as opposed to the traditional elite class. Whether the families from the commoner class can now be considered "elite" due to their increased access to wider pool of economic resources, is a matter of interpretation, but not one that will be discussed within this thesis.

The Researchers, such as Hau'ofa and Marcus, have identified that the kinship relationship is the channel through which the remittance, migration process occurs. Therefore, if the system is to offer long term economic opportunities then the likely survival of the Tongan family system needs to be addressed. This thesis focuses its attentions on the changes occurring to the families in Tonga, as they encounter capitalism in their own backyard, while considering how these changes may improve the kinships durability in a capitalist world. The thesis then seeks to identify the changing uses for remittances at home and examine whether there has been a move away from dependency on family members who have migrated, to one of interdependence with them. This interdependence is displayed through the senses of reciprocity involved in the capitalist transactions, the greater implications of which are the possibilities for the existence of "transnational corporation of kin" (Bertram and Watters, 1985: 499). Finally the thesis challenges the current theory on individualism and nuclear families introduced by Parsons (1949) and others, who states that due to the impact of new ideologies, changing roles and the increased need for individual mobility, kinships will breakdown to smaller nuclear family sized units, taking with them the desire to remit funds and share resources with the wider family group.

The Methods and Criteria for Research

The families interviewed and observed in this research, lived primarily within the main towns, as this is where the majority of capitalist activity is occurring. It is within this environment that the families are being mostly affected by the changing economic

situation. However, change is occurring elsewhere. The writings of Faemani (1995) and James (1991) support this, having noted evidence of capitalist activity occurring even in the most remote villages and islands. With regards to this research, which aimed to find evidence of family structural change due to capitalism, families were interviewed and observed from areas that had maintained a relatively high level of capitalist activity for a sustained length of time. These areas were the three main towns of the different island groups and neighbouring villages to Nuku'alofa.

The families involved in the study all had access to town allotments and plantations. The allotments generally have more than one house, usually a Western style home made from wood, together with a house made from traditional material such as the coconut tree, which is usually used for storage. All the families still had access to plantations, although the families in Nuku'alofa, where land is scarce, often share this between the parents, brothers and sisters and their children. All the children of the families I spoke with had access to high school education, and generally they were encouraged to be committed to their studies. Most of the families I spoke with had intentions to support some form of further education for their children or themselves, whether it be in Tonga or abroad. The occupations of the different family members interviewed included teachers, shop owners, secretaries, or students at tertiary level.

This research was conducted through applying some of the approaches used in simple appraisal techniques, with some similarities to those used in Rapid Rural Appraisals (RRA) technique, (Chambers, 1981). This meant that information was gathered through informal discussions with members from the families. Participants were generally chosen through a series of contacts, termed the "snowball" technique (Sarantakos 1993), where one participant would suggest others who would be able to supply information or answer questions. This information was supported by observing the families and their economic behaviour. Interpreters were used on some occasions to help in the interviews. These individuals were usually researchers or aid workers who were considered part of the community and therefore, were able to provide their insight into the activities and attitudes of the families along side whom they worked. This approach was used for a number of reasons:

1. I was required to research alone and therefore, did not have the advantage of working with a team which can observe the information from a variety of viewpoints (called triangulation, Chambers, 1981: 98). However, while the aid workers were not themselves researchers, they were able to understand the point of the study and therefore offer their observations and knowledge of the Tongan family system.
2. The Tongan traditional approach to providing information is often informal and conversational, unlike the Western approach of surveys and answering questionnaires. While certain questions and issues were raised at each interview or meeting, they were often not asked in a succinct ordered manner. In fact the meeting was often a discussion about the issues raised, with key information regarding the family included within this discussion.
3. The information required was often personal and related to the financial structure of the family. This information was not supplied readily, but was often offered in comments made in passing at a later date.
4. Language barriers were a problem not only in terms of general conversation, but also in relaying the key ideas to obtain the desired information. Working with the aid workers (where possible) often helped to resolve this issue.

Although the approach towards questioning the participants was often informal, certain questions were consistently asked in order to build up a picture of the kinship structures existing in Tonga today. The study generally followed a series of questions regarding the structure of the family, the living arrangements, the geographical placement of the family members, the type and extent of contact that is maintained and the reciprocity involved with sharing resources. In particular questions were asked regarding the regularity of communication, whether written or by phone, the purpose of the communication; social, business or household related, the type of remittances sent to and from family members overseas, and which resources were shared (such as business profits) and with whom. The issues of reciprocity was also discussed in connection with

the current attitude towards loyalty and the sense of obligation in being a member of the family.

These questions were asked to establish a background picture of the family and how they were still involved with the kinship system. The questions also sought to disclose the degree of reciprocity among kinship members, and to identify if the nature of reciprocity had changed from that observed by researchers (Beaglehole and Beaglehole, 1941 and Aoyagi, 1966); before an extensive cash economy had been established in Tonga.

The Kinship Connection

The research in Tonga was conducted to question the school of thought discussed in Chapter Two, which suggests that individualism and nuclear families are an unavoidable outcome of becoming involved with the capitalist economy. Hau'ofa's raises concerns as to this presumption in his essay "Our Sea of Islands" (1993) which suggests kinships and their use of remittances and migration, could be the channel through which economic development might be achieved. The system of remittances and migration discussed by Bertram and Watters (1985) can be considered an alternative developmental path, differing from the export led approaches discussed by Connell (1987) and Hardaker (1995), if the kinship links are maintained or strengthened by the families as they become more involved with a capitalist economy.

It is suggested that their continued focus on the kinship system, rather than moving to individualism, is due to more than just the recognition of traditional senses of obligation and giving within the kinship. It can also be attributed to a changing view of reciprocity and sharing of resources which allow the members both at home and overseas to benefit. Hau'ofa perceives these transformations offer hope and opportunities for the "ordinary people" of the South Pacific. This thesis will question this idea by studying the changes occurring within the kinships structures in Tonga.

Chapter Two

Kinship: Not Suitable For Capitalism?

“...As Non-Western peoples become progressively modernised, they will eventually-and-inevitably-develop a bilateral European type family organisation in which kinship plays a relatively minor role” (Bruner, 1966: 425).

Considering the Theory

According to modernisation theory (as outlined by Bruner, 1966; and others) Tongan families who modernise will evolve from their traditional extended kinship system to develop a more Western style nuclear family structure. Apparently this is an unavoidable consequence of having economic, political and cultural involvement with the Western world. Conventional modernisation theory (Parsons, 1949) suggests kinships and extended family structures are limiting factors to capitalist development, because family ideologies fundamentally differ from those within the capitalist economy. Families maintain particularistic relationships, differentiating individuals by their ascribed status. In industrial societies, on the other hand, people in business relate on a universalistic level, and people are differentiated by their achievements. In a capitalist society individualism is encouraged as to spur on competition and profit maximisation. In contrast, kinship networks and families are noted for their sense of solidarity and realising of obligations. The modernisation perspective then, is that a traditional kinship structure is not compatible in a capitalist society. It hampers entrepreneurship, individualism and individual mobility. Furthermore, government planning policies are often motivated by these assumptions to encourage more Western style nuclear families and therefore, increase individual involvement in capitalist economies (noted in Hayes, 1991).

However, evidence suggests that some kinship systems work within a capitalist economy. These families work as economic units in the modern economies, competing

effectively against non kinship members, while pooling their resources in such a way that each member benefits from their participation in the family group. There is evidence of such activity in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific (Bruner, 1966, Greenfield, 1966 and Litwak, 1965). For instance kinships in the South Pacific migrate internationally, to obtain the benefits found in large capitalist economic environments. This necessity has developed certain characteristics in the family structure, so that some researchers have defined these family structures as “transnational corporation of kin” (Bertram and Watters, 1985: 499).

This chapter attempts to investigate the rationale discussed in the modernisation theories regarding economic development and family structural change. Referring to different writers, the chapter will discuss the different issues of relevance that have led researchers, such as Parsons, to the conclusion that individualism and nuclear families are a necessary consequence of living in an industrialised country. This chapter will then focus on literature that opposes this view providing reasons and examples of how kinship structures still exist in transitional and industrialised countries, finally examining the relationship between migration and kinships in the developing nations of the South Pacific.

Kinships in Discourse with Capitalism

Harris (1990: 84) suggests that “kinship relations may seem to be the opposite of modern market relations in societies with capitalist modes of production. Such relations are universalistic, in contrast, kinship relations are personal, diffuse, affective and based on particularistic ascription”.

Universalistic standards and achievement norms are essential in maintaining the capitalist system. If people and relationships were not determined by these standards then economic decisions could not be made on a purely objective basis. The goal of profit maximisation would come into conflict with nepotism and family obligations beyond the purposes of the commercial enterprise (Parsons 1949).

Capitalist economies are concerned with the creation and expansion of business and industrialisation through creating markets relatively independent of external controls (for example government controls) and influenced by the value of commodities traded in marketplaces. This value is established by realising the scarcity of the good in relation to the demand for the good. Individuals then control the resources, transferring the commodities for a price rather than out of a sense of obligation or loyalty. Competition occurs as many individuals seek to receive the economic benefits of being involved in the same market. Entry is then controlled into these different markets by the cost of entry. In order for the system to develop an individual needs to orientate towards business expansion; involving the accumulation of capital, increased consumption derived from greater use of existing resources (previously underutilised), and the increased velocity of circulation of working capital.

The economy requires members to be individualistic, concerned with bettering themselves and, therefore, willing to compete against other individuals while committing themselves to the creation of goods and services to be consumed. Not only are individuals self-orientated and largely removed from extended family obligations, they treat other individuals uniformly, differentiating one individual from another by performance and productivity. Supposedly this will ensure business relationships are kept objective with the ultimate aim of economic maximisation being maintained.

Families come into opposition with this system because, as Harris (1990) states, they are fundamentally opposite in their defining relationships. Families are a web of emotional ties, dependent on maintaining a system of obligations and particularistic determination of relationships, such as differentiating between the way one behaves towards their father or their brother. Families base their decisions on ascribed qualities, the type of relationship that exists and the closeness of the relationship. In an economic sense family members are obligated to support the relationship through sharing economic resources or providing contacts, with the ultimate purpose of advancing the needs of the family. Economic decisions can become highly subjective, based on favouritism and nepotism. Business decisions can be decidedly inefficient and ineffective

predominantly influenced by a commitment to maintaining family relationships rather than making sound business assessments.

The Changing of Family Roles and Functions

Not only is there conflict in the way that family relationships behave, but also in the functional roles they perform. Involvement in the capitalist economy has effectively removed a lot of the traditional functions of the family, displacing the purpose of the family in the modern economy. Families used to work as economic units in subsistence economies providing for the survival needs of individuals within the family. The birth of the industrial revolution in the West and the change in production processes, removed this economic function from the family.

“Industrial organisation eventually outgrew the family. The trend was in this direction as the inventions used in handicrafts manufacture multiplied and the use of windmills increased. But with the cheaper iron and steel, and the use of streams as a source of power applied to tools, more space was needed and more workers were required than were to be found in the household. The steam boiler was too big for the home and the power generator required more space for the machine. The factory instead of the homestead became the unit of production. The factory was too large to be manned by even a very large family” (Greenfield, 1966: 314).

Thus sweeping changes occurred in social and economic organisation, with the focus moving away from farming and subsistence living to urbanisation and industrialisation. Families no longer produced their own daily needs. Rather individual members sold their labour to obtain the required funds to purchase their daily requirements.

The loss of these family functions and traditional duties seemed inevitable in the evolution of contemporary society. Robert and Rhona Rapoport (1965) comment on how, as textile production became increasingly geared to the cash economy the need for efficient competitive practices and therefore specialisation and differentiation of work

duties, increased. Duties were assigned according to competence rather than traditional kinship duties and obligations. "Entrepreneurial success came increasingly to depend on assigning specific jobs to the most competent individuals available, regardless of sentimental or familial connections" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1965: 383).

The combination of the conflict between family and capitalist relationships and the loss of a functional role for the families caused contention within the developing industrial society. The extended family networks were seen to hamper the economic effectiveness of an individual, demanding the individual to still share their time and redistribute excess funds in order to meet family obligations. The family obligations limited the reinvestment potential of both the individual and the company. Individuals were unable to increase their economic well being, because excess funds were distributed and companies were unable to fully utilise the labour potential of individuals because of the obligations and commitments to the kinship. Freedom from the family systems seemed to be the only answer. The industrial society encouraged it and individuals were motivated to move away. Thus the kinship structure broke down, removing the obligations that held the individual back from the primary goal of profit maximisation and capital acquisition.

A More Appropriate Family Structure?

The nuclear family evolved; a seemingly more feasible arrangement. These smaller family units appeared to reduce the conflicts between the family ideals and those of the capitalist world. Once the ties were broken, senses of solidarity and obligation were limited to the conjugal family unit. Harris (1990) gives his interpretation of Parsons' explanation of the nuclear family economic isolation from the rest of the kinship: "Hence the nuclear family was structurally isolated. In other words, the rules governing the behaviour of individuals provided for the formation of nuclear family groups only." Harris goes on to say in his discussion of the writings of Parsons that, "if we look at what Parsons says in discussing kinship in industrial societies in general, we find him writing that the 'extent of kinship solidarity' and the 'most stringent kinship obligations' were limited 'to the conjugal family of procreation isolating this in a relative sense from

the wider kinship units” (Harris, 1983: 54). Here Parsons is referring to both the formation of groups and to the recognition of obligations and relationships.

Parsons developed his argument further to demonstrate the importance of the nuclear family unit and its effectiveness in the industrial society. The formation of a nuclear family unit allows for greater economic development, not only because it removes the economic obligations with a wider kinship group it also allows for increased mobility of the individual. Parsons states:

“Clearly for two structures with such different patterns to play crucially important roles in the same society requires a delicate adjustment between them. To an important degree their different patterns can be upheld only by mechanisms of segregation which prevent them from getting in each other's way and undermining each other. Broadly this problem of structural compatibility is solved by making sure that in the type case only one member of the effective kinship unit, the conjugal family lays a full competitive role in the occupational system” (Parsons, 1949: 263).

Parsons discussed how not only is it necessary for the conjugal family to be independent from the larger family unit, but also within the conjugal family only one member should participate in the industrial society. The husband or male partner in the relationship should be able to separate his family and occupational functions. His status in the workplace should not be shared by other members of the family. “The isolation of the conjugal family is the mechanism for freeing the occupation-bearing and competing member of the family from hampering ties which would both inhibit his chances and interfere with the functioning of the system” (Parsons, 1949: 48). Parsons concentrated on the functional difficulties of having both the man and the woman in the work place. Parsons held that, given functional necessity of segregating the nuclear family from the economic system except for one link, the husband should be the member to participate in both. Parsons has reflected on historical gender roles and moved to suggest that women would be best suited to the role of care giver. Harris provides clever insight into

Parsons' theory pointing out that Parsons' intentions in suggesting functional roles were not to suggest that males should perform the occupational role, rather that only one member of the family unit should be involved and based on historical observations this role is most often filled by the male (Harris, 1983: 55).

The Need for Mobility: Geographic and Occupational

Parsons also focuses on the need to free up the movements of the individual, away from their family both in terms of the occupational system and the geographical environment. Parsons develops a hypothesis that extended family relations are "antithetical to occupational mobility" based on two major assumptions "the overriding importance of status by association and secondly, differential socialisation among various occupational strata" (Litwak, 1965: 10).

Basically Parsons assumed that status achievement is directly and indirectly related to occupational position. Secondly, the status is affected by the associations that are kept, so associations with an extended family of a lower status could affect the perceptions held of the nuclear family and therefore future movements. Another assumption held is the differential between strata groups and their forms of socialisation. Therefore, family members of differing social groups would have difficulty socialising with a family member from another strata. Such differences could be sufficient to erode the kin ties, leaving little in common to keep them together.

Not only does Parsons focus on the incompatibility of the extended family in terms of the occupational status differentials, but also on the importance of mobility in terms of geographical placement. For kinship relations to exist and grow it is assumed that families need to maintain some form of geographical propinquity, local residence and intervention in the occupational and social lives of the family members. Families require continual commitment to the relationship to ensure obligations and responsibilities are maintained. However, for the industrial economy to work effectively individual family members need to be free to move where the work is available:

“Since it is the individual, as such, who is in demand for new jobs in such a way as to necessitate his changing his residence, it is essential that his family be able to change with him, and this would not be possible if it were not an isolated conjugal family which was not bound to a particular residential location by the occupational property, or status interests of other members” (Parsons, 1949, 263).

Goode (1963) also supports this argument with his hypothesis. Although Goode sets out to recognise the importance of the conjugal family from a different starting point from that of Parsons, he ends up acknowledging very similar arguments to Parsons. Goode questions how does the individual 'fit' into society and which family system helps satisfy these needs the best? Goode favours those family units that allow for equality and individualism and give freedom to rapid economic changes and growth, ie. nuclear families who are free from kinship obligations. He points to this type of family for very similar reasons as Parsons.

Goode concludes that individuals need freedom for geographical mobility, and this mobility makes it difficult to stay in touch with kinship members. Occupational mobility leads to a differentiation of the kin group beyond the nuclear family and a loss of control with important activities for these kin groups, therefore diminishing the importance of such groups to their members. He does add one additional consideration. Industrialisation creates a large number of different jobs and this occupationally differentiates kin. Hence, the chance of any individual being able to assist kin is diminished, because in most cases they will be in different occupations (Harris, 1983).

Parsons' and Goode's perspectives on the family system are based primarily on the functional relationships that exist within families and the capitalist economy and the need to find a system that supports the growth of both, but not to the detriment of the other. Neither Goode nor Parsons consider the importance of the extended family networks in business and in fact they associate kinship systems only with peasant and underdeveloped societies (Parson, 1949).

Parsons (1949: 262) sets out to explain why the isolated family exists in most of the first world countries with particular reference to the United States. He associates the existence of the industrial economy with the isolated nuclear family and he and others go as far as to say that the success of the industrial economy is dependent on the evolution of the nuclear family system.

The Strength of Kin

While Parsons and others support the hypothesis of the nuclear family in capitalist societies, other researchers focus on the importance of those kinship networks that continue to operate in capitalist societies. Of particular interest are those kinships in 'transitional state' economies, where people are moving from living in a solely subsistence lifestyle to a combination of both. Here extended family networks are changing and transforming their traditional functional roles, allowing them to continue their existence in the capitalist economy.

Kinships are discussed by Parsons (1949) to have existed in a situation where duties were not specialised, private ownership was not essential and meeting of family obligations worked to ensure the survival of the family and its members. In the capitalist society these obligations and commitments to the individual's time and resources seem to limit the economic potential of the individual and therefore, the capitalist society.

However, kinships provide links and resources that individuals on their own are unable to utilise. While competition and freedom to be mobile are seen as essential to freeing up the capitalist market, it is also recognised that there are substantial costs involved in competition and that working as a group, with similar goals can mean participation in the market place is much more feasible. Harris discusses this point in his analysis of the significance of kinship. "The continued significance of kinship in contemporary society is frequently understood in terms of what kin can do for each other. Hence, it has been well-established that kin provide domestic services, information about housing and job opportunities, act as sources of influence, and so on"(Harris, 1990: 94).

However, the kinship system can have more developed functions, such as working as a economic network, interacting to pass information and resources to other members: "Because of their informational and fiduciary character, kin links in the network will be used in preference to other equally available types of link, and this will serve to restrict resource flows to the benefit of kin"(Harris, 1990: 94).

Kinships take on a structure and network of their own, not only sharing information within, but restricting its access out. It is claimed that individuals within the economic life in contemporary society are in pursuit of individual advantage and benefit. Competition encourages efficiency and productivity, but it also divides up the market share and detracts from potential profits for an individual. Therefore, individuals attempt to restrict resource flows in order to modify the degree of competition. The ascribed qualities found in kinship relationships often provide the criteria for such restriction. "Economic life in market societies may be regarded as being characterised by attempts at restriction, which in some cases may result in monopoly and closure, and kinship is a resource for such restriction" (Harris, 1990 :94).

An essential key is the sharing of common goals in capital accumulation and economic gain. Kinships have been too narrowly identified by their affective and emotional qualities, and their cognitive and economic properties have been ignored (Harris, 1990). The existence of kinship relationships is more than just to fulfil altruistic desires to support the personal relationships that exist, they are also a means of advancing personal gain for the individuals involved. They are a resource in competitive struggles and are claimed and recognised on the basis of mutual individual interest. "They serve not only to transmit but to restrict the flow of resources, thus sharpening the competitive advantage of kin at the group boundary, and diminish the rigours of interpersonal competition within the group itself" (Harris, 1990: 97).

The universalistic imperative described by Parsons should be seen as a hypothetical state that capitalist societies aspire towards. The truth is that ascribed qualities and personal definitions do buttress the categorical placement of individuals in society and are used as a prediction of economic performance. Kinship is, and will continue to be, a

potential and frequently utilised element in the structure of economic relations and therefore of lasting significance in the market place.

Greenfield (1966), Litwak (1965) and Bruner (1966) provide some general examples to support this hypothesis. Greenfield's article on "industrialisation and the family on sociological theory" (1966) questions the relationship between industrialisation and nuclear families "to stress that even here [America] there may be a range of family alternatives to the small nuclear family in urbanised, industrialised systems" (Greenfield, 1966: 316). Researchers such as Erwin H. Johnson, mentioned in Greenfield's article, conclude that the stem family system found in modern Japan "is sufficiently generalised in its nature to conform to the needs of the changing technology of Japan", and he considers that the "traditional family, in fact, has not and does not have to give way under ...urban or industrial influences" (Greenfield, 1966: 316).

This same conclusion is applied by Garigue with his research on French-Canadians in Montreal who belong to extensive kinship networks in an urbanised, industrialised environment. He concludes:

"The collected evidence indicates no trend towards transformation of the present French-Canadian urban kinship system into the more restricted system reported for the United States. While difficulties were reported in maintaining a united domestic family or an integral kin group, there is no reason to suppose that these difficulties were caused primarily by urban living. Moreover, many cases were reported where the kin group re-formed after a period of disunity. There are many reasons for believing that the present system will continue. Far from being incompatible, kinship and urbanism among French-Canadians seem to have become functionally related" (Greenfield, 1966: 316).

Again this situation is seen in Luso-Brazilian kinship patterns, where the parentela-a-bilateral kindred studied in seven Brazilian communities are a kinship system who play an important role in social, economic and political affairs. The kinship systems operates

both in the rural and urban areas, where family members organise to live near each other in order to maintain the relationships. While Parsons saw this type of relationship limiting the advancement of the individual and therefore economic growth, these family units stay close to help each other in both economic and social ways. So when economic opportunities arise members of the group are in contact with each other and are in a position to take advantage of them. This is done with the ultimate aim of improving the overall situation for the family.

Bruner's study of the role of kinship in an Indonesian City (Bruner, 1966), also considers the theory of kinship breakdown and eventual evolution into the nuclear family and individualism. The evidence found in the city and villages of Indonesia show that kinship has not been superseded or lost in an urban environment: "Clearly the urban Batak kinship system has changed in comparison with the village, and is highly probable will change even more in the future, in response to changing conditions in Medan and in Indonesia generally... The emergence of the urban clan association among the city Batak ... is a new and creative adaptation to the conditions of urban life, the reverse of breakdown and decline" (Bruner, 1966: 425).

Litwak picks up on this theme with his interpretation of the American nuclear family, questioning the isolation that Parsons discusses. Litwak's interpretation of the American family addresses the issues of dependence between different nuclear groups for material and social support to improve the occupational and geographical mobility of the younger nuclear family unit. He describes this kinship system as the "modified extended" family (Litwak, 1965: 390). "This type differs from the "classical extended" family in that it does not demand geographical propinquity, occupational involvement, or nepotism, nor does it have an hierarchical authority structure. On the other hand, it differs from the isolated nuclear family structure in that it does provide significant and continuing aid to the nuclear family" (Litwak, 1965: 10).

The 'modified extended' families possess less apparent kinship characteristics, compared to those observed in a Non-Western countries. Their characteristics and functions are more indirect, facilitating the achievements and mobility drives of nuclear

families and individual members. Their tasks complement those of other social systems: "By achieving integration with other social systems, concerned with the general goals of maintenance and accomplishment of these systems, the family network cannot be considered to adhere solely to the isolated family concept" (Sussman and Burchinal, 1966: 126). Sussman (1966) agrees with Litwak's interpretation of the American family in that the wider family unit is linked in such a way as to provide a network of assistance within the other social and economic systems that exist in society.

While non-western extended family units demonstrate a more developed system of networking, the kinship units that do exist within Western countries are still involved in providing some manner of support systems. It is apparent from these discussions that kinships have a meaningful purpose, with the traditional functions and roles of the extended family being adapted to account for a changing economic and social environment.

The South Pacific

South Pacific countries provide a further example of a changing and developing extended family structure, a structure which is well utilised, providing economic and social support across the seas. However, the sustainability of these kinship systems is challenged as they are required to migrate to countries where individualism, not kinship, is the prevalent social system. Migration and movement to affluent Pacific rim countries is seen by the people of South Pacific as unavoidable and a necessary factor for economic development. These surrounding countries have more developed market economics that provide employment and cash to send home to families. This cash is used to allow families to consume more modern goods and services, improve their education and provide further access to the rest of the world (Connell, 1984 and Faeamani, 1995).

Yet, apart from the challenges, the family system is still the structure through which the migration occurs. In this changing economic environment it is not the individual voyager who is migrating to this overseas destinations in search of western commodities and education, but rather selected members of wider family network. Members are sent

for the purpose of obtaining an income or education or just to re-establish past contacts and re-affirm cultural traditions ensuring the continued family links (Hau'ofa, 1993).

This argument has, in the past, gone unrecognised. Theories, such as those outlined in the comprehensive studies of the South Pacific Commission and the International Labour Organisation, which were charged with determining the impact of both internal and international migration on employment and development in the nineteen eighties, focused on the link between individualism (which was so prevalent in developed Western societies), and migration into the Pacific rim market economies.

“The core of the SPC-ILO explanation of migration is a theory of cultural change: as already indicated, the proximate determinant of migration is individualism; if penetration did not promote individualism, then it would not (necessarily) produce migration” (Hayes, 1991: 27).

The SPC-ILO study (Hayes, 1991: 27) suggests that individualism is an essential key in the desire to migrate and move into the capitalist economics. Individualism exists because it is a necessary part and consequence of participation in industrial societies. “The conditions underlying Polynesian migration is the “incorporation” of Pacific islands economies into the “global economy”(Hayes, 1991: 24). Incorporation of monetisation and Western education systems undermines traditional social organisation, especially systems of leadership and social control that in turn produce individualism: “once freed from traditional constraints and leadership, individuals detach themselves from their family and community and migrate in search of greater material rewards than the island economy can provide. The decision to migrate is ultimately based on a rational individual calculus of costs and benefits, with acquisitiveness as the underlying motive” (Hayes, 1991: 24). This argument is further supported by researchers and writers such as Grijp (1992), Hardaker (1995) and James (1991).

However, other studies show that the driving force behind migration is the desire for economic development for the kinship group that the individual is associated with. A theory suggested by a variety of researchers advocates a kinship network exists in the

South Pacific, commonly referred to as the “transnational corporation of kin” (Bertram and Watters, 1985).

Bertram and Watters point to the migration habits of these “transnational corporation of kin” as increasing evidence to suggest that allocation of resources to sectors with more economic potential can have “long-run benefit to the growth of living standards in the sending community” (Bertram and Watters, 1985: 498). Bertram and Watters suggest that: “sending of remittances, and reciprocal visiting between the parts of geographically extended kin groups - suggests the idea of an emerging new institution, the “transnational corporation of kin”, allowing kin groups to colonise and exploit economic opportunities across a wide range of economic environments” (Bertram and Watters, 1985: 499).

Connell (1987: 109) also recognises these social factors as having “considerable significance” in determining the principle influences behind migration. While economic limitations, land constraints and desire for greater consumption potential may result in a greater propensity to migrate, it is the larger family households with their 'linked' migration networks who on average most migrants are found to be part of, “village households organise the migration of family members, to share and spread risks, diversify incomes, or act as possible 'beachheads', for further migration.” (Connell, 1987: 110). In fact it is these connections overseas that act as incentives to migrate. The resulting remittance flows are seen as tangible evidence of the continuing desire for families to strengthen their international contacts, allowing resources to be accessed from a variety of sources, both at home and overseas.

Hayes' discussion recognises Bertram's and Watters' (1985) ideas in the study conducted by the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), commissioned by the New Zealand Government in 1983. In this study they reject the hypothesis that migration is necessarily a reflection of individualism and therefore, capitalist penetration:

“In the IPS model, migration is consistent with a mode of production and cultural system in which behaviour is largely determined by traditional

norms of family loyalty, support and respect for elders, obedience to parents, harmony within the family and group, the collective sharing of burdens and benefits, and so on ... migration can, and in Polynesia does, reflect the interests and goals of families or larger kinship units. Migration is economic in the sense that the unit whose welfare is the ultimate subject of this rational calculus is the family or larger kinship unit" (Hayes, 1991: 28).

It is these kinship economic support networks that Hau'ofa (1993) discusses in his writing on the perception of the South. Rather than falling victims to the Western ways and free market behaviours, Hau'ofa advocates that strong economic and social ties exist between members of the extended family units from Polynesia. It is these ties that have supported economic development for the family units and ordinary people of the South Pacific back home. This grassroots economic development, from market places to corner stores and large family enterprises has occurred largely because of the remittances sent home from kinship members living abroad. They send remittances for the purpose of improving the economic situation of the family as a whole.

Further evidence is provided as to the significance of the kinship network that operates in the South Pacific. Curson (1979) in his discussion on "Migration, Remittances and Social Networks among Cook Islanders" observes how "In the Cook Island case, the interconnections and interdependency between those islanders living in New Zealand and those back in the Cook Islands manifests itself in a patterned flow of money-order remittances, foodstuffs and other goods, as well as in the sponsorship of emigrants and the continued viability of the traditional kinship system in cities like Auckland" (Curson, 1979: 185). Curson comments can be compared to those of Hau'ofa: "These factors enable us to visualise Cook Islanders as being members of an integrated social community which transcends physical or spatial boundaries" (Curson, 1979: 185). These family networks allow the members to have access to much wider range of resources, which are then fed back into the system providing the means for economic development for the family unit.

This continual returning of funds and knowledge into the group encouraged the development and change of the kinship groups. As the families integrate further into the capitalist system the traditional functions and roles of the members change. This evolution of the kinship system is reflected in the increasing sophistication of the use of remittances. Originally there were generally negative views as to the use of remittances, as they were perceived to contribute to increased consumption of imports and dependence on overseas economies for development. This is the view held by researchers such as Hardaker (1995), James (1991), Connell (1980). While initially this was true, these developing kinship systems have developed their economic and commercial understanding, with increased use of funds for investment and business activities.

“Moreover, the findings concerning unrecorded remittances in kind are clearly supportive of the notion that the migrant families' decision-making behaviour can often be likened to that of a ‘transnational corporation’, where the sending of remittances in the form of goods is an integral part of the family's international trade and investment activities. Indeed, it was found that for a significant proportion of the migrant community, business investment is a stronger motivation than altruistically-motivated family support” (Brown and Foster, 1995, 43).

Other studies, conducted by Brown (1995), Foster (1995), Walker (1995), Connell (1995) and Faeamani (1993) highlight the changes in remittance use beyond those discussed earlier by Marcus (1981). Faeamani concludes that, while investing is still growing in significance its importance has been recognised, “investment does feature in a number of instances, in particular, for purchase of vehicles and vehicle maintenance for commercial roles, such as taxis” (Faeamani, 1995, 151). This change in the use of remittance is reflective of the changing role of the family kinship system and its growing awareness of its future potential.

The Potential of Kinship

The kinship networks which exist in Polynesian societies are further examples of the way in which traditional family structures have evolved to take account of the changing economic environment. While Parsons provides significant reasons to explain the presence of the nuclear family in most industrialised western societies, there is evidence to suggest that other family systems can work effectively in the same societies.

Rather than maintaining a traditional kinship system which conflicts and has functional incompatibility with the industrialised society, many kinship systems have modified and adjusted their senses of obligations and priorities allowing them to function in the capitalist economy. In so doing they have managed to maintain some of the highly beneficial characteristics of a larger family network, such as economic support units and information networks.

These types of family systems are evident in the Tongan economy which is representative of the MIRAB (Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy) economies discussed by Bertram and Watters (1985), an economy highly dependent on the overseas remittances of its migrants. The understanding of the evolution of the family system that underpins this migratory, remittance function is essential to recognising the significance and sustainability of the situation.

Not only is it important to collect statistics on the extent and volume of migration and remittances, it is also necessary to understand the motivations and priorities of the individuals involved in this system particularly as the members of the families become integrated into the Western societies and, thereby, are influenced by the behaviour and philosophies found in a different society.

The extended family networks or transnational corporation of kin which operate in the South Pacific and particular Tonga, could have a substantial impact for the grassroots economic development of the country. By observing and studying the kinship system found in Tonga and the adjustments being made, it is hoped that a greater understanding will be gained with regard to the economic development of the Tongan people, with a

wider implication of indirectly addressing issues faced by other South Pacific countries. At the same time, the validity of a general hypothesis suggested by Parsons (1949), that denotes the breakdown of kinship systems and the move to individualism and nuclear families can be questioned.

Chapter 3

Tongan Kinships: Past and Present.

“The links between family members are physical and mystical, and the social and religious values maintained in Tonga in family values have been internalised by most individuals” (Cowling, 1989: 33).

Considering the Past

The links that exist between kinship members occur not just through sharing the same value system, although the senses of loyalty, duty and commitment to the family system are central to the reasoning behind most decisions. In addition are the individual motivations to be part of a functioning system that provides for their most basic of needs. Historically the kinships existed by means of a subsistence lifestyle. Here the kinship system worked well, as family members worked together to grow crops, gather food, build homes, care for the young and educate the next generation. Each family member had a sense of their duty and obligation to group (Grijp, 1993).

With the advent of trading and European contacts, this traditional method of existence was challenged by capitalism and Westernisation. New opportunities existed at home and in other countries, leading family members away from the functioning system they previously depended on. However, whilst the roles might have changed and access to daily interaction with the family group may have reduced, due to migration to neighbouring countries, traditional values of reciprocity and obligation to the well being of the wider group still remained. This is apparent with the continued presence of remittances in the Tongan economy (Faeamani, 1995).

Therefore the continuation of the kinship structure within the capitalist economies, supported by the system of remittances and reciprocity, would appear to be a delicate mixture of traditional ideologies, regarding the importance of family, and a development of a new set of motivations and incentives which realise the functional potential of the family system in a cash economy both in Tonga and abroad. To understand the role of

traditional values in this mixture it is necessary to comprehend the traditional kinship system and how this system have been supported by political, cultural and religious advocates of the family, since the time of European contact. This is the purpose of Chapter Three, while an assessment of the changing motivations and the reasons for this are topics to be discussed in Chapters Four to Six. In addition, this chapter seeks to identify some of the constraints faced by Tongan people within their country which encourages migration and remittances.

The Traditional Structure

The desire to remit funds back to family members at home, comes from a sense of obligation established in the traditional kinship structures and practised by the Tongan kinships pre-and post European contact. It was within this traditional kinship system that the roles, rituals, traditions and obligations were instituted, with the introduction of the kingship and the Christian religion enhancing the social hierarchal system already in place (Cowling, 1989 and Helu, 1982).

The kinship system in this discussion is the *kainga* or *famili* system as opposed to the *ha'a* kin structure. According to the anthropological literature, there are at least two quite different kinds of kin grouping in Tonga. Decktor Korn refers to a number of writers who have described these two groups as: "the *ha'a*, which is a descent-based group that has been referred to by one writer as a "societal division" and by most others either as a lineage or as a ramage or status-lineage. The other type of kin-group is a sort of kindred that has variously been identified as the *fa'ahinga* or *kainga* or *famili* or *matakali*" (Decktor Korn, 1974: 6). For the purposes of this thesis, the kinship structure relates to the general structure of the Tongan society and not just the upper ranks. From the research of others, this would refer to the kindred system of the *famili* or *kainga*. "Only the upper ranks can be said to belong to a lineage organisation..." however, "...both commoners and chiefs are involved in the *famili* system " (Decktor Korn, 1974: 6).

The kindred system classifies the Tongans " as an extended family type with polygamous household; patrilocal residence, but matrilocal residence as a patterned

alternative; limited polygyny; absence of any unilinear kin groups, bilateral kindred” (Aoyagi, 1966: 141). A further explanation of the domestic kin groups is given by Decktor Korn (1974) who distinguishes three kinds of kinbased groups. These groups still possess similar qualities today although more often than not these groups, particularly the second two, span neighbouring islands and international boundaries, rather than just the internal composition of a village or a group of neighbouring villages as occurred in the past when subsistence lifestyles were the primary form of existence.

Decktor Korn (1974: 9) discusses the household group as: “the ‘api which is defined in terms of common residence and consumption and includes also the sharing of land that is held locally by members of the ‘api. Members mainly and usually, but not necessarily, are all close kin to one another”. He refers to statistical data from the Tongan Government census in 1970 that estimates as average of 7 persons per household, with a range of 2 to 32 individuals from elementary families to three-generation extended family groups (Decktor Korn, 1974: 9). In addition these households often include attached individuals, who move in for a few days, weeks or even years.¹

The second kind of grouping is described by Decktor Korn as the *kainga* “which is an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. From time to time, groups based on *kainga* relationships are activated” (Decktor Korn, 1974: 9) These events usually involve special occasions such as funerals, weddings and births. Even today the gatherings of such occasions are largely because the relationships of the people present relate to the bereaving and not necessarily just to the deceased. “A *kainga* then, is an unrestricted grouping with an ego reference, based on consanguineal kinship” (Decktor Korn, 1974: 9).

The final group that Decktor Korn refers to is the *famili*, which is the Tongan interpretation of the English word for family. This term is often replaced by the word *kainga*, as some researchers feel that the terms are interchangeable. However, Decktor

¹ The average percentage of people per house in 1986 is similar that of 1970 (7), with a population of 94,649, compared to available housing of 14,806 (approx).
Tongan Government (1991: 62 & 256)

Korn creates a destination between the two, one which this thesis will choose to follow. Decktor Korn defines the *kainga* as “mainly a relationship category, while *famili* is an action group that provides goods, labour, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes” (Decktor Korn, 1974: 9). While Decktor Korn concludes that this action group is village-based and a local group, it could now be suggested that the *famili* is now a wider spread group of people, sometimes described as “transnational corporation of kin” (Bertram and Watters, 1985), who exist as a kin network internationally.

Subsistence Lifestyles

Historically Tongan families existed within a subsistence lifestyle. The family structure provided support through supplying food, land and labour to their fellow kinship members. Families often worked together on the same plantation allotments, growing a variety of tuberous plants such as yams, taro, cassava and sweet potato. This was often cultivated under coconut palms, breadfruit trees and banana palms. These crops were for family use, or to be supplied as gifts for kinship or community gatherings such as church events, or used as cash crops, particularly coconut. In addition some of the plants held other qualities, for example the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree is beaten to make a paper-like cloth called *tapa* and kava root is ground to make a traditional ceremonial drink.

Families worked as a labour network helping in the planting and harvesting of the different crops. However, this system not only helped to ensure their immediate survival. As the land is passed on in a hereditary way, siblings participated in the caring for the plantation to ensure they have long term access to the land. In addition, the parent or grandparents may plant cash crops such as vanilla, of which they will not necessarily see the full economic benefit. As Grijp explains: “The vanilla and the reserve land also served as an investment for the retirement of Funaki and his wife. By providing those of their children who live at or near home with decent economic conditions, the elderly couple can view the advance of years with equanimity (there is no European-style state arrangements for retirement in Tonga)” (Grijp, 1993: 96).

These subsistence lifestyles are slowly changing as individuals become part of a capitalist economy. Initially only a few members would leave to find work in the capital of Nuku'alofa or overseas in Auckland, Sydney or California. However, today sole reliance on the plantations has diminished greatly, with most families only using the plantations in addition to waged employment and/or remittance receipts. The move into the capitalist economy has influenced kinship relationships, reducing the size of the kinship networks and changing the functions and roles required to exist in this economy.

The Kinship Ideology

However, whilst the capitalist economy offers new incentives and opportunities, the traditional values and ideologies of the family still motivates individuals to work as a kinship group. Cowling substantiates this with her discussion of the importance of identity to the Tongan people: "For many Tongans it is important to maintain a self identity which is located in the national and cultural identity" (Cowling, 1989: 27). To ensure this, Tongans show their altruistic attitudes of "loyalty, duty, love, the fulfilment of which confirms their Tongan identity" (Cowling, 1989: 33). Terms such as *fatongia* (duty) and *'ofa* (love), are still used widely by Tongans to describe the remittance behaviour of the overseas family members or the sharing of a family business in busy Nuku'alofa.

Cowling goes on to say: "A Tongan traditionalist's view of societal functioning sidesteps many issues: particularly the control of production relations and the exercise of power... In the past the concept of *'ofa* ("love") as caring love, underpinned the principle of *fetokoni'aki*, sharing, particularly of food. These concepts are part of the ideological weight given to the concept of the family in Tonga" (Cowling, 1989: 30).

In Cowling's research into why Tongans emigrated to Sydney, the primary motivation was the desire to "help the family". Those members that moved were perceived to do so to aid the family by obtaining jobs and remitting money, thus enabling improvements to family homes, financing of the business establishment or expansion of family estates or enterprises, including the purchase of equipment, such as trucks, or to support family donations to the church (Cowling, 1990: 299). In my own research, I found nearly all of

the participants expressed similar sentiments behind their reasons to remit. Primarily there was a desire to enhance the economic well-being of the family.

Advocates of the Kinship System

These ideologies and values regarding the role of family have historically been upheld and supported by the king or queen of the time, particularly Queen Sálote who paid considerable attention to maintaining the Tongan culture. Cowling comments on the commitment of the Queen to preserving Tongan society in at least an adapted version of the traditional form. With increased Western impact occurring through the British Protectorate years and especially with the work of the Wesleyan Church, the Queen sought to establish herself as “Queen to the satisfaction of the British, but in Tonga as “elder sister” of the chiefs and the whole family, thus identifying herself with the land-maintaining spiritual powers of traditional chiefly women. In this capacity she was also an official controller of the knowledge of history and genealogy, as well as the kinship-legitimated controller of gift-giving (Cowling, 1989: 25-26).

Queen Sálote attempted to avoid too rapid a change to the society and family system of Tonga. She sought to maintain the national dress during the Second World War, she encouraged the women to continue the use of traditional handcrafts by founding the “*Langa Fonua ‘ae Fefine*” organisation in 1956, and in 1965 she founded the Tongan Traditions Committee in order to establish a definitive set of practices in most aspects of Tongan cultural life (Cowling, 1989: 26).

This motivation to preserve the Tongan culture has helped to ensure that the majority of Tongans have a reasonable knowledge of their historical past and genealogy. In discussions with Tongans today, most are aware of cultural rituals, traditions and a large proportion of their family tree. This understanding of their past, encouraged by Queen Sálote and subsequent heads of state, has assisted the continuance of values and ideologies, which maintain the Tongan identity; an identity based upon a sense of loyalty and obligation to ones family (Cowling, 1989: 30).

Apart from the royal family, the churches have also supported and encouraged the kinship values, with their emphasis on family values and sharing of resources. There are a significant number of churches (Decor 1978, Grijp 1993), all of whom have a large presence in the social and economic behaviour of the Tongans. The first Christian church in Tonga, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, was 'nationalised' in 1885. This church has since had four splits, with each new denomination still commanding full houses on a daily basis. In addition there are two other large churches, the Roman Catholic Church and the Mormon Church. The 1986 census referred to by Grijp notes a total of 10 different church groupings with a total of 97% of the population attending a Church (Grijp, 1993).

However, the churches can also be perceived to be a constraint on the resources of the Tongan kinships, particularly as the Tongans give a considerable amount of their time and finances to the church. The churches are associated with the majority of social activities in the community, with most Tongans spending a considerable part of their week at church (Cowling, 1989). The churches also consume a large proportion of the remittances sent, for example Faeamani noted that some 21 percent of the remittance sent to the villages were given to the Church (Faeamani, 1995: 150).

The Push Towards Migration and Remittances

The changes required in Tonga to become apart of the international capitalist economy have highlighted other constraints, which limit the resources available to the Tongan people for economic development. During his reign, Tupou IV negotiated with a number of private and Government parties in countries such as United States, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, India, Saudi Arabia, Russia and more recently Libya to widen the pool of the economic support provided to the country (Marcus, 1978: 55). This effort helped to stimulate a number of modest projects, particularly in the areas of tourism, primary production and small industries. Whilst Tupou IV sought to encourage greater international contacts, in order to obtain foreign capital for economic development, a shortage of land for economic initiatives, a restrictive land tenure system, and a lack of exportable products, all limited the extent of economic development able to be achieved (Bertram and Watters, 1986). Instead the kinship groups send members to neighbouring

countries to take advantage of the economic resources there, sending home goods and money, which are used to improve the standard of living of those in Tonga.

Geographical Constraints

The desire for economic development and the resulting out-migration that occurs in Tonga is partly due to Tonga's limited resource base. Tonga comprises of approximately 150 islands with a total surface area of the islands of 699 km². Tonga is one of the adjacent island groups to New Zealand, some 2,000 kilometres north-east of Auckland. Its closest neighbours are Fiji, some 700 kilometres to the west and Western Samoa, 700 kilometres to the north west. Of the approximately 150 islands of Tonga only 36 are inhabited. "The other islands are often used for agriculture or left when there is either no longer any economic incentive to maintain them or there is no fresh water supply on the island or nearby" (Grijp, 1993: 13).

The resident population of Tonga is approximately 100,000. 1986 statistics show a population of 94,649 (Tongan Government, 1991: 62) with the 64 percent of population residing in Tongatapu, 16 percent in Vava'u and a mere 9 percent in the Ha'apai group. The Tongatapu Group is the southernmost group, of which Tongatapu is the largest island with a surface area of 260km².

Table 1. Distribution of the Population over the Main Regions in 1986.

ISLANDS		Number (000)	Percentage (%)
Tongatapu		63.6	67.2
	Nuku'alofa	28.9	30.5
	Rest of Tongatapu	34.7	36.7
Vava'u		15.2	16.1
Ha'apai		9.0	9.5
'Eua		4.4	4.7
Niuas		2.4	2.5
<u>TONGA TOTAL:</u>		<u>94.6</u>	<u>100.0</u>

(Tongan Government, 1991: 64).

The Ha'apai group lies roughly 160 kilometres north of Tongatapu and consists of 36 small islands (total 119km²) scattered over an extensive area of ocean. The main village for this group, Pangai, is located on the low coral island of Lifuka, which is one of the larger more central islands of the group. The Vava'u group is further north and consists of 34 islands (totalling 181 km²). The second largest island in Tonga is Uta Vava'u and situated here is the regional capital of Neiafu. Part of the Vava'u group are the islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafo'ou, jointly referred to as the Niuas. These islands are some 300 kilometres north from Uta Vava'u and 500 kilometres from Tongatapu. The distances and resulting remoteness of these islands contributes to the extensive out-migration that occurs.

The estimated net emigration for Tonga shows an outward move of approximately 2500 per year in the last years of the eighties. This is an increase from the 2000 or so per year estimated from 1976 to the early eighties. The rate of approximately 2% per annum for net migration can be compared with the rate of natural increase for the same period which is approximately 2.35% resulting in a rate of growth of 0.49%. (Tongan Government, 1991: 62). This net increase in population has placed considerable pressure on land resources in the economic centres of Tonga, particularly in Nuku'alofa, where the land shortage is accentuated by the growing demand for land for entrepreneurial activities.

In addition to the population pressures, Nuku'alofa's resources are constrained further by the migration of Tongans from outer islands, seeking work or education in Tongatapu. Statistics show a substantial increase in the in-migration to Tongatapu, between 1976 and 1986, with a net migration gain (+1,332) in Tongatapu, compared to a net migration loss (-953) in Ha'apai (Tongan Government, 1991: 64).

This situation is further accentuated by a restrictive land tenure arrangement (the Act for which was passed in 1875), which prevents the sale of land because it is considered the property of the Crown and therefore only leased rather than sold to the commoner (Tongan Government 1991, Maude 1971 and 1973). Subsequently, the demand and supply of land is not determined by its value but rather by a traditional proportional system, which stipulates that each male Tongan of tax paying age (16 years and over) to

be granted a town allotment and a agricultural allotment of 3.2ha. However, this system is no longer effective in Tongatapu and particularly Nuku'alofa because land is no longer available for distribution (Connell, 1987, Tongan Government 1991, Maude 1971 and 1973). These difficulties over land holdings contribute to uncertainty in business development and also remove incentives to better the value of the land currently held. This is yet another encouragement to migrate to the Pacific rim countries where land can be obtained and economic opportunities do exist (Connell, 1987).

Economic Constraints

Regardless of the land restrictions, the mere smallness of size of Tonga's land mass restricts the economic possibilities within Tonga. The GDP statistics of Tonga highlight this point, with only a small number of industries within Tonga (Tongan Government 1991). Agriculture, forestry and fisheries are the largest contributors to the GDP at 32% and trade, restaurants and hotels at 11%. Community and personal services at 12% and ownership of dwellings at 22.6% are the only other major contributors.

Table 2. Contribution to GDP at Factor Cost (% of GDP)

SECTORS	1982-1983	1988-1989
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	32.3	31.5
Mining and quarrying	0.1	0.5
Manufacturing	3.6	4.8
Electricity and water	0.8	1.3
Construction	9.8	6.8
Trade, restaurants and hotels	10.8	11.0
Transport and Communications	6.7	6.7
Finance and business services	5.5	6.3
Community and personal services	13.0	22.2
Ownership of dwellings	20.1	22.6
less: imputed bank service charges	2.5	3.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

(Tongan Government, 1991: 7)

Dependency on such a small range of industries for economic growth restricts the earning potential of the country, particularly as all these industries have recorded both positive and negative growth in their real GDP growth over the period since the last recorded Development Plan in 1986 (Tongan Government, 1991: 7). Consequently the overall GDP growth for the period of 1988-1989 was estimated at just 1.7%, with only 0.4% attributed to the non-agricultural sectors. While some growth has occurred in the agricultural sector, this industry's export earning potential is confined to a small range of produce. Over 47% of the exports in 1989 comprised entirely of vanilla, bananas, watermelon and root crops, with the other 53% comprising of: fish and manufacturing, (including coconut production) (Tongan Government, 1991: 18).

The limited income potential for the country is made worse by the increasing demand for Western products and, therefore, imports. The balance of trade shows an increasing deficit over the period from 1978 to 1990 to reach \$(47.8) million in Tongan dollars (T) in 1990. This is balanced out by services and transfers, of which a large proportion comprises of remittances (\$32.9m (T)). Other major transfers include official aid (\$9.3m(T)) and tourism receipts (\$10.8m(T)) (Tongan Government 1991: 17).

This type of economy is often described as a MIRAB (Bertram and Watters, 1986), an economy based around migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy. In the sense of a capitalist economy Tonga has a, "limited resource base and is often perceived to have a substantial dependency on "development aid" to supplement local incomes and consumption of western products" (Bertram and Watters, 1986: 497-499).

Migration, Remittance and Change

In addition to aid the economy places a heavy reliance on the migration and remittances of Tongans, who are encouraged to migrate because of the geographical and economic constraints at home and the economic opportunities that exist abroad. Family members move to the modern sectors in the Pacific rim countries to obtain work, education and funds to improve the lifestyle of those remaining in Tonga.

Of course, the migration of Tongans to other countries brings with it changes not previously encountered within a subsistence lifestyle in Tonga. Families values and ideologies are challenged by the Western viewpoints on individualism and small nuclear sized families. Ideals central to the family system no longer appear relevant in a capitalist economy, such as loyalty (*mateaki*), respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and duty (*fatongia*) to the family (Cowling, 1989: 30). Subsequently competition would seem to replace loyalty and a commitment to family relationships.

However, the behaviour of reciprocity is still apparent in the capitalist economy of Tonga, where goods and services are sent to and from members overseas. Remittances coming into the country are being used for more than just the consumption of imported goods. They are also being used to start businesses, provide education and invest in the future of the family. Chapters Four and Five further this discussion, providing examples of the development of this system and the impact on the relationships which exist between kin both at home and those overseas.

Chapter 4

Tongan Kinships Today.

"The Tongan kin set as family estate is composed of kinsmen who actively maintain economic transactions and who mutually have an interest in and are responsible for each other's economic position."
(Marcus, 1981: 50)

Considering the Present

My first impression of Tonga was arriving at 2am in the morning and driving down a very bumpy road in a near new Toyota, driven by a Tongan nun who did not wear a habit (because that was a Western idea and not part of her culture). I had expected to see a sharp division between the Western capitalist development that had occurred on the islands and the subsistence lifestyle depicted in the writings of people such as Campbell and Grijp. What I was presented with was a comprehensive mix of both, with modernisation and technology appearing alongside traditional practises, such as, for example, brand new outboard motors on rickety old fishing boats. Both were seemingly out of place, yet both had a rational reason for their existence.

Tonga does not appear to exist in a dual economic state, with a capitalist centre separate from the remainder of the economy. Rather capitalism is very much part of the Tongans way of life. It influences their way of thinking, their priorities and their desires and ambitions. Yet these people are still very much Tongans, and still maintain the traditional perspective on their family and their place within the family. Capitalism has, in one way or another, been incorporated into the traditional kinship structure.

The everyday activities of the Tongan people have Westernised, moving away from a subsistence existence to paid employment, businesses, cash crops and a European-based education. The changing occupations of family members means altering the requirements and expectations of the family. Where once the *famili* worked as a group sharing the plantation and town plots to ensure the survival of the family in a

subsistence lifestyle, this group now exists internationally to help the family improve its standard of living. As a result there is a changing set of criteria for taking an interest in and responsibility for another family member's economic position.

This chapter seeks to examine the changes occurring within the Tongan family structure as a result of capitalism. Researchers, such as Grijp (1993), have suggested Tongans' need to move away from kinship to individualism to allow private business to prosper and to reduce dependency on out migration and remittances. Yet evidence suggests that mobility and capital accumulation can occur within a kinship system (Bertram and Watters, 1985 and Hau'ofa, 1993). To understand the reasons as to when and how this is happening, it is necessary to establish the different circumstances where capitalist decisions affect the Tongan kinship system.

Therefore, this chapter concentrates on observations I made while in Tonga in 1995, which suggest there are four key areas where the family system has changed as a result of Tonga's involvement with the capitalist economy. These areas include the living arrangements of family members, the changes to business practises, the evolution of investment and distribution of funds and the reciprocity of remittances sent from overseas. These changes do not appear to be removing the traditional ideologies of the family, such as the sense of obligation and commitment to the family unit. In fact, these modifications are helping to maintain the traditional family priorities within a capitalist society.

Tongans' Move into Capitalism

The capitalist environment, within which many Tongans now exist and which acts as catalyst to change the traditional family functions, is defined by Marx (for the purposes of this thesis), as being a mode of production that has four essential characteristics: a highly developed form of commodity production, private ownership, the function of capital accumulation and exploitation of waged labour (Grijp, 1993). The fourth characteristic, in my opinion, is rather a bleak view of capitalism, which implies that individuals don't have a choice over their means of existence once they move into capitalism and they will subsequently be exploited. From my observations in Tonga,

most individuals make the move into the capitalist economy because it provides them with more choice and options than the traditional subsistence lifestyle.

Grijp makes the observation that, "Many of these elements are present in contemporary Tongan society to a greater or lesser degree, but they do not form a single system. It is therefore not legitimate to conclude that Tongan society is capitalist. On the contrary,... it represents a dynamic convergence of elements from the original system with capitalist elements"(Grijp, 1993: 23). Grijp made these observations in 1993, and I would suggest that since that time Tongans have steadily moved further towards capitalism, not only in their activities, but also in their thinking and understanding of how to exist within a capitalist economy. Tongan people are learning to adjust and take advantage of this different economic system.

It is the changes to daily economic activities that gives the first indication of the move that is being made into a capitalist economy. Tongan people are aware of the potential benefits that modern goods and services can provide and so they are seeking ways in order to meet their desire for such goods and services. It is this desire, that spurs on the move into cash crops, international migration, businesses and education. Today in Tonga the majority of Tongans live in the capital city of Nuku'alofa, they are there for the purpose of obtaining paid employment, investing into a business, or an education, or supporting the family members that are involved in one or other of these activities. Generally those that live within Nuku'alofa exist within a capitalist economy, although many families still maintain a semi-subsistence existence, maintaining their plantations, from which they obtain their basic food requirements.

The demand for technology and materialism is also met through international migration. Individuals venture out into the capitalist economies on the Pacific rim, in order to obtain the education and work, so that through remittances the extended family can afford to purchase the desired goods back home.

Connell and Brown (1995: 5) comment: "A major influence on migration has been radical changes in expectations over what constitutes a

satisfactory standard of living, a desirable occupation and a suitable mix of accessible services and amenities. Aspirations are now almost always likely to involve some imported food and other goods (such as clothes and vehicles) and access to schools, hospitals and, sometimes, modern entertainment, all of which demand some cash income".

Migration, was initially the most feasible way for families to generate the necessary income to meet their materialistic demands. However, now families are taking the money sent from overseas to generate money back home. While some family members still go overseas to earn the necessary cash, others stay at home to invest part of this money into income generating ventures. Faeamani comments in his survey in 1993 that although the majority of remittances are spent for day to day consumption, there is a rise in saving and investment in those communities that had developed other forms of reliable incomes. "Ha'atafu had the highest level of savings, partly because some recipient households also earned reliable incomes from fishing, or squash, vanilla or cocoa farming, from which they could meet their basic, day-to-day needs, enabling these households to save some of their remittances"(Faeamani, 1995,149).

In this study a variety of forms of income generation were observed, with families obtaining income from small businesses, waged employment and cash crops. In 1995 there seemed to be a move into the first two areas and away from cash crops for two reasons. Firstly, the time, effort and low rate of return, required to produce these crops, particularly banana and copra, and secondly the markets for these crops, particularly squash with its Japanese market, were not always secure.

All the case studies had, in addition to family members overseas, at least one other close family member involved in a small business or waged employment within the main towns of each Island group. To improve the chances of better paid jobs, there was also a growing demand for education at all levels. The students and parents in case studies 2, 4 and 9² expressed the importance of improving the child's education and therefore

² The case studies used in this research are numbered from 1 to 15. Refer to Appendix 1 for a description of each case study. Chapter 5 discusses the particular characteristics of each case study.

employment opportunities. Education is seen as an avenue by which not only individuals but families can fulfil their aspirations for a desirable income and satisfactory standard of living.

From both my observations and Faeamani's there appeared to be a growing awareness of the need for investment to acquire an education or run a business. For instance case study 5 has intentions to open a western style restaurant. To do this, the two family members directly concerned were overseas obtaining the capital to set up the business. In addition profit from other family businesses was to be used to help establish the enterprise. Faeamani also notes: "It was apparent that increasing use was being made of remittances to finance loans to purchase equipment for fishing and agricultural purposes" (Faeamani, 1995: 151).

Originally remittance money or goods was the primary means by which shops were supplied with goods for sale. Today those that have been successful in this enterprise have increased their shop size and used the profit from the shop to pay, not only for additional supplies, but also to further enlarge the size of the shop. Case Study 2 in Nuku'alofa had managed to obtain sufficient long term profits, to purchase additional land next to the shop to increase its size and also pay for the education of children.

Reassessing the Kinship Ideologies

Researchers such as Grijp suggest that Tongans are only able to move into this new phase of capitalist development if they move away from the traditional kinship structure and into a more individualistic mind set. Grijp comments:

"When capitalism is starting up in societies like that of Tonga, it is initially necessary for capitalist entrepreneurs who are autochthonous members of the society to utilise the traditional social structures and asymmetrical ideology- in the present case, kinship and the circulation of gifts. As their enterprise proceeds, however, this becomes an impediment and they are forced to resort to the new - at least for this society- capitalist -orientated structure of wage labour. The obligation to

give, *fatongia*, which is inherent in the original mode of thinking, eventually stands in the way of capitalist enterprise" (Grijp 1993: 129-130).

Grijp uses the examples of a Tongan individual attempting to set up a store, only to have the family's continual requests for free gifts, thus the entrepreneur is unable to make a profit and therefore a success of the business (Grijp, 1993).

James also comments on her perception of the growing individualistic nature of the Tongan people by concluding that the land tenure system, where supposedly on reaching 16 years of age the male member of the society receives a portion of land, encourages individualism rather than the kinship mind-set of sharing: "The fact that land is individually leased ... has contributed markedly in Tonga to an individualistic rather than a communalist outlook ... Options are exercised more and more on an individualistic basis ... with the fragmentation and increasing nuclearisation of Tongans' family" (James, 1991: 3).

Morton also suggests a link between what he sees as the atomisation of the Tongan culture and capitalism. He compares the theory of individualism and nuclear families (Parsons, 1949 and Goode, 1963) with changes occurring in Tonga and concludes: "At the most general level, the atomisation process in Tonga is possibly due to the incorporation and institutionalisation of many aspects of Western culture" (Morton, 1987: 49).

Whilst these researchers suggest the move to individualism is apparent in Tonga, Brown and Connell note what seems to be a paradox between the literature that focuses on the "remittance transfers among various component parts of the 'transnational corporation of kin' and literature that notes the "accompanying shift towards individualism" (Brown and Connell, 1993: 622).

To date the literature has focused itself into two separate camps, either supporting the kinship structure and how it is used in international migration and remittances (such as

the writings of Marcus, 1981, Brown and Connell, 1993, Fa'amani, 1995 and Foster (1995)) or suggesting that this system will be replaced by individualism as the Tongan economy becomes capitalist in its production mode (Grijp, 1993, James, 1991 and Morton, 1987). In accepting the latter argument, one fails to note the changes that have occurred to the Tongan kinships since they have become involved in the capitalist environment. The changes I observed to the kinship structure included the associating of financial giving to the *famili* group rather than the *kainga*, which reallocates the senses of obligation to a smaller group only comprising of the grandparents, their children and their children's children.

All the case studies, particularly those relating to family members who were partly or fully integrated into the capitalist economy, talked of their commitment and sense of obligation to their families. The money they gave into their families from their wage employment, they saw as a gift. The different individuals did not give under duress but did so believing that as a member of the family it was their duty to help support the growth and success of the family. They saw it as a way to improve the economic situation of the family as a whole, and they were only playing their part in this. This sense of giving is now not only expressed by helping to develop a plantation plot or providing food to a *pole*, but also through paying for the household bills or obtaining a loan to pay for the building of a new home for the parents.

This sense of being subordinate to the family, where traditionally "your individual rights are intended to serve the common good" (Grijp, 1993: 176) appeared to be alive and well. Families still in essence "borrow the land to cultivate from their relatives or friends" (Aoyagi, 1965: 2), and although the individualised land tenure system has established "the economic conditions necessary for independent, nuclear-family households" (Morton, 1987: 49), families still share the land among the wider *famili* group.

Living Arrangements

Even in contemporary Tongan society "there is no consensus among Tongans on what composition constitutes the ideal household" (Decktor Korn, 1975: 236) and

households are still the place where the economic decisions are based. Households are not closed and in most cases the actual living arrangement extend beyond the nuclear family unit. This system does not just apply to the towns and capitalist areas, but also to the outer islands and villages. The writings of Aoyagi in 1966 refer to the household sets up in a small village in Tongatapu where generally "the households include two generations and one married couple, it can be inferred that the household is primarily on the basis of the nuclear family. In fact, 21 households receptively are nuclear families and the rest include additional members" (Aoyagi, 1966: 145). This summation of the household situation throughout Tonga, is confirmed again by Morton in his discussion of the atomisation of the Tongan society. He notes that "overall, the pattern of exchange among kin is one in which the household organised around the nuclear families emerges as the socially significant unit" (Morton, 1987: 66).

While it is fair to say that the traditional kinship rank system or the *kainga* group, noted by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole in 1941, does not play the same dominant role in Tonga society today, I would suggest the *famili* still maintains an essential support network, providing accommodation for the nuclear family members and those closely related, such as the grandparents, cousins, uncles and aunts.

Most case study families had at one time or another shared their house with a relative, such as a cousin, uncle or niece for varying lengths of time. In addition, adoption of other family member's children was found to still be very prevalent throughout the community. Change is observed in the reasons for these decisions, to either adopt or allow another member to enter the household. Nowadays these decisions are influenced by the requirements of a cash economy. Families make these decisions based on access to education for the younger generation, wage employment opportunities, or caring for the family land or dependent children. In Case Study 1 the couple sent their children to live in Nuku'alofa because they both worked full time in Pangi, while the wife's mother was free to take care of the children in Tongatapu. This illustrates the concept of how best to serve the family accommodates capitalist requirements, while still applying traditional family obligations.

Family Business

The goals and aspirations of a capitalist society are changing the obligations of giving gifts. Nowhere is this seen more noticeably than in the running of a family business. The ability to run a private business with the goal of profit maximisation, is severely hampered, in the eyes of researches such as Grijp, by the obligations and ties that members had to their family. Grijp tackles the issues of Tongans as Western-style entrepreneurs (Grijp, 1993), with his perspective of the situation being summarised in a quote from the Tongan Government in 1991: "Preconditions for Tongans who want to set up a business are: capacity, know-how, funds. Main causes of failure are: lack of experience, lack of administrative capability, and the fact that basic materials have to be ordered from overseas. But in many, many cases the most important cause of business failure is a cultural factor: the obligation to share your wealth with relatives, even very distant ones" (Tongan government official, 1991 taken from Grijp, 1993: 101). Whether or not the official is correct in his comments regarding the main causes of failure in business in Tonga is not an issue in this thesis. However, the concern here is the perception that the major cause for business failure is a cultural factor, that of sharing one's wealth with the kinship group.

To say the cultural factor of obligation to share is a reason for business not to work is failing to recognise the evolving and changing nature of culture. Instead of seeing these obligations as a limiting factor, I have observed that these internal senses of responsibility to one's family are motivating factors behind successful businesses. This cultural factor has changed and developed to allow it to survive in Western-style entrepreneurship, which in effect is actually Tongan-style entrepreneurship.

Tongans have altered their sense of obligation and gift giving to accommodate business ventures by altering the type and extent of contact they keep with their relatives. As families internationalise, contact survives only where there are close ties, whether this is with brothers and sisters or more extended *famili* relative. In contrast families are limiting their contact with the *kainga* relatives to family life events, such as weddings. In addition, the *famili* members are changing their expectations, in demanding gifts

from the business, as they recognise that benefits can be derived for the whole family if the business succeeds.

These changes are occurring in three main areas: the introduction of discounting and accounts for family members; the narrowing of obligations to whom one is to give, and increased awareness of the potential benefits if the family operates a successful business. All three of these modifications can be observed within family businesses that are growing and expanding. Case Studies 2, 5, 6, 8, 12 all participants operated a family business, while still recognising the responsibilities that they have to their *kainga* they have addressed the need to make a profit. Without offending relatives, those who operated businesses created a new set of obligations. Some have introduced a system of accounts and one couple had considered discounting. I was unable to obtain statistics on bad debts from these businesses, due largely to the informal nature of the accounting system. However, when discussing this issue with the families, my impression was that the Tongan sense of obligation to the family encouraged payment of shop accounts.

From my observations it would seem the accounts system was not offered to a *kainga* relative, but rather to members of the *famili*. This is because the system depends upon the closeness of the relative. In addition the individual's capability and willingness to pay back debts was important. In some circumstances gifts will still be given to needy family members such as in the example of case study 2 where regular account services were provided to an uncle who had lost his wife, but still had three dependent children. While he is encouraged to pay, he was often given extended credit. In this situation, even when he struggles to meet this expectation the help is still provided out of a sense of commitment to help another family member in trouble. Although the shopkeeper is seen to initially bear the cost, long-term it is recognised the sense of reciprocity within the family would encourage repayment in some form or another, such as his children helping out in the shop.

It is this sense of obligation to the family business either as an employee or customer that is providing the motivation to see the business succeed. The loyalty to the family is noted when talking with those family members who either work full time for the

business, or help out in the weekends. This "helping out" may not result in any wage, but the reward for serving the family is perceived to be obtained through more than just economic benefits. Although in the long run family members who do help out, have reason to believe they will receive some economic benefit such as free food and board, the dominating motivator behind their decision still appears to be the desire to see the whole family benefit from the economic success of the business, by doing their bit they enable this to happen.

Increased awareness of the potential of a successful family business is another important motivating factor in changing individual perceptions on how businesses operate. The case studies involved in this research, whose participants had achieved long term sustained profits from a business, have realised not just the short term value of operating a business to meet initial household requirements, but also the long term value of the investment. It is this concept of forward thinking requiring investment of time and money back into the business, although relatively new to Tonga, which provides the backbone to sustained business success.

Investment and Distribution

As with business ventures, so too are attitudes changing in regards to investing and distributing funds. Historically, researchers such as Grijp (1993) suggested that Tonga's potential for long term development was hampered by the strong disincentive to save and invest. "Money slips through the fingers so quickly to satisfy kinship and church obligations" (Hardaker, 1995: 1). Until recent history, families would distribute funds among the kin group rather than invest the funds into family businesses and education. However, this new situation is evolving as more families become aware of the benefits of forward thinking and long term investment into money making projects.

Walker and Brown consider this issue in relation to remittances,

"remittances are not used exclusively for consumption purposes and play an important role in contributing to both savings and investment in the migrant-sending countries. It also shows that remittances appear not to

be driven exclusively by altruistic sentiments and the need for family support, but also, among some migrant categories, by the motivation to invest " (Walker and Brown, 1995: 89).

Faeamani notes these changing objectives in his analysis of the uses for remittances: "It could be argued that Tonga has entered a new phase in the pattern of remittance use, with savings and investment gradually coming to constitute a much more important feature in this process than before" (Faeamani, 1995: 151). He goes on to say "...it would be incorrect to conclude that such remittances are used for "wasteful", conspicuous consumption. Expenditure on education, building, furniture, migrant airfares and saving, which account for 24.8 percent of total remittances, can also stimulate growth and development in the domestic economy", and "...some 25.1 percent of all remittance spending in the four villages studied went directly into productive activities, that is expenditure associated with small business, farming and fishing operations" (Faeamani, 1995, 151).

Walker and Brown also support this view,

"a significant part of remittances is used for investment purposes, not only in housing, but also in other more productive spheres ... remittances in-kind were often found to take the form of investment goods, such as building materials, light machinery, and vehicles. Moreover, ... migrants do not remit only for purposes of family support but also for reasons of investment in both financial and productive assets in their home countries" (Walker and Brown, 1995: 110).

A more forward thinking approach to economic development for the family is stimulating the move towards investment in both financial and productive assets. However, without the support of family networks, in terms of both economic and social support, these investment opportunities would be much harder to achieve. Families not only provide the social security blanket for the individuals, they also play key roles as

loyal business partners who can run the business, if for example the other individuals concerned are required to travel overseas. This was the case in Ha'apai (Case Study 5) where brothers and sisters of the land-holders operated the venture while the owners were earning additional funds in America. In this way the family shares resources and contacts with other family members both at home and overseas.

Because family members still consider themselves as subordinate to the group, any venture or investment made by one member affects the rest of the family. Rather than letting other family members exploit the economic ventures of a brother or sister, they are being encouraged to support the investment by not exploiting it, but rather reinvesting any profits they receive from the family ventures to improve the economic opportunities of the family, for example through gaining an education or by setting up another business. In those cases where several family members are operating businesses, a member of the family is usually put in charge, perhaps the eldest brother as in the case study 5, who coordinates the overall structure and planning of the "corporation". It is this combination of distribution and investment of profits throughout close family members that is creating opportunities for economic development for the whole family.

Reciprocity Overseas

This development of capitalism in Tonga is also changing the remittance relationship with overseas family members. Some families are becoming less dependent on the cash sent from abroad and are in fact now sending goods and money back to family members who live overseas. The remittances are sent overseas in a variety of circumstances, for instance, when family members are in need of financial help. This was observed in Case Studies no 2, 12, 13, and 15 when funds were sent to support another member's education. In addition families often send Polynesian food and handicrafts, to be sold overseas or used for family occasions (Brown and Connell, 1993, Hau'ofa, 1993) and, in Case Study 5, they even send a portion the family's profits to brothers and sisters overseas who have shares in the family business.

The families who still receive regular remittances are often receiving them in forms other than cash, so while the amount and quality of remittances received into Tonga is still significant, (Foster, 1995, Faeamani 1995), an increasing number of these remittances come in the form of goods for the market, shop or home (Brown and Connell, 1993). The goods are then sold to support the family still at home.

In some circumstances, cash is no longer sent home. In several of the case studies (1, 2, 4, 5, 8 and 12) members do not receive regular funds because the money is not required at home and they feel it is better utilised overseas. In these cases if funds are sent, often it is for birthdays, family gatherings or church events. Generally these families have grown children, who have access to paid employment, either in Tonga or overseas, and/or they operate a family business, such as a corner shop.

The Impact of Change

The sending of funds home and then the returning of goods and money back overseas is another example of the use the kinship system in the capitalist activities occurring in Tonga's economy. These activities seem not to exclude the traditional kinship behaviour of reciprocity, although the families utilise it in a manner different to the requirements of a subsistence lifestyle. The kinships also maintain the traditional principles of loyalty and commitment to the group in ways not required in the traditional economy. This may involve providing of accommodation to family in the capital city or in economic centres around the Pacific rim, helping to establish and successfully run the family business, investing into the education or business ventures of other family members, or continuing the system of reciprocity with family members who have migrated overseas.

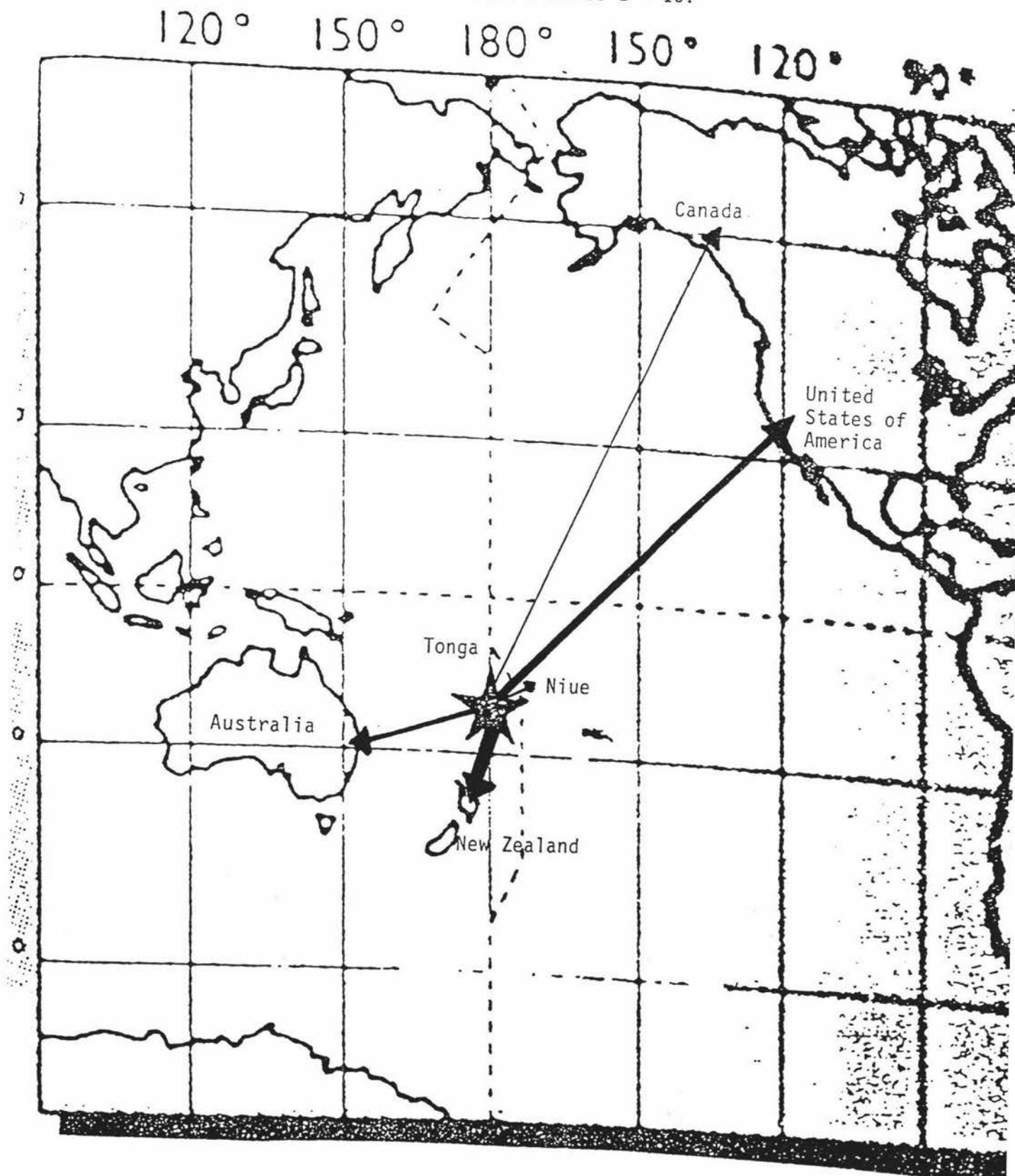
Capitalism is not encouraging individualism as suggested by Grijp (1993) and more generally Parsons (1949). Rather kinship obligations are used to encourage increased investment and sharing of resources throughout the family.

For example the taxi driver in case study 13, who was well known in Nuku'alofa for his efficient, reliable service, discussed how most of his family were presently overseas and

how he had remained behind to care for the family land and plantation, working as a taxi driver during the week and on the plantation in the weekend. He was a member of the family group and it was his responsibility to remain in Tonga to care for the "family assets". "The family would be coming home for Christmas" he said "and perhaps one of my brothers would return to Tonga next year on completing his qualifications" (Interview, September 1995). The taxi driver did not perceive himself as an individual operating on his own, but rather as a member of a larger network, who was living and working internationally, ultimately for the benefit of the whole family.

Chapter Five goes on to illustrate these ideas with a more detailed discussion of the different case studies which develop these themes. These case studies, which suggest change within the kinship structures, allowing them to work more effectively in the capitalist economy, support the works of other researchers, such as Hau'ofa (1993) and Bertram and Watters (1991), who also perceive opportunities for economic development through the current practises of the kinship system.

Countries of residence for Case Studies 1 - 15.



(Douglas and Douglas, 1994: 632)

Chapter 5

Tongan Kinships Today: The Case Studies.

"I see most families wanting to Westernise, as they desire the technological amenity that improves their way of life" (Interview with Futa Hela, Director of Atenisi University, Nuku'alofa, Tonga, 2 October 1995).

"Former relations of production and other social relations do not disappear suddenly from history, but they are changed; they influence the forms and places which will assume and manifest the effects of the new conditions in material life, within the former social structure" (Godelier, 1977, quoted by Morton, 1987: 67).

Providing the Evidence

"Please book three hours in advance from the Tongan menu". This notice hangs outside the only restaurant in Pangai, the tiny capital on the main island of the Ha'apai Group. The town centre boasts a limited variety of small corner shops, a couple of banks, and a single restaurant that sells traditional Tongan food, with plenty of time needed to prepare!

This is the initial impression one gets of Ha'apai. There are some signs of capitalism, but the substantial changes, as observed in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, are not so apparent. Here the lifestyle is slow, the consumer products are limited and the businesses are small. For the most part, they still rely on a subsistence lifestyle. However, the utilisation of the family structures for capitalist development is apparent in Pangai, and to a surprising degree. One family (Case Study 5), in particular, operates as a corporate group, with the eldest brother coordinating the family businesses from Nuku'alofa, while brothers and sisters living in Ha'apai operate the businesses, such as: the petrol station and brick-making business. Still others live overseas, sending or receiving money to and from the family business. This case study and others, suggest the interdependence

of economic activity of the family members, both in the capital city and in the outlying island groups that do not have direct access to the international ports.

Case Study 5 characterises a Tongan family who has improved their standard of living within the capitalist environment through still utilising their internal family structure. There are many other *famili* throughout Tonga, who possess these characteristics to varying degrees. This chapter brings forth different case studies of families who have changed and evolved as they have moved more extensively into the capitalist economy. These case studies will be examined under different themes, drawing attention to the major changes that are occurring within the kinship structure. The different themes include the changing motivations behind living arrangements; the development of a new set of obligations for family businesses; the changing perceptions towards distribution and investment, and the changing remittance, reciprocity relationship with family members overseas.

The different case studies all expressed similar sentiments in the importance they placed on the family, for example, the sense of interdependence, commitment and obligation felt for the family. These similarities are to be discussed, along with a general description of the economic, social and geographical situation of the families.

The Case Studies

All the families are involved to varying degrees in the capitalist economy. In addition to helping on the land, they now also work together in the business and investment environment. Generally all the families have at least one member working either in paid employment or running their own business. Only one of the families has moved completely away from the subsistence lifestyle, all the other case studies use their plantations for their daily food requirements and then supplement it with Western food.³

In addition every family has several members overseas, and in one or two cases they are the only member left in Tonga. In every case a varying degree of contact is maintained

³ Refer to Appendix 1 for summary details.

with members living overseas, with the remittances flows ranging in significance and regularity, from small amounts only on family occasions to regular sums sent every month. This situation changes consistently, with the movement of family members in and out of the country occurring all the time. Usually, as the family's wealth increases, more members are able to leave the country to obtain work internationally. However, as this wealth increases, through successful businesses ventures and improved education, family members appear to return home to a lifestyle they prefer. These processes encourage the movement of not only people, but goods and money, to and from Tonga and their international designations.

In all the case studies the families discussed a sense of obligation and commitment towards the family. While this would appear to derive from the emotions of loyalty and love, economic gain was also seen as motivator. In some cases the sense of obligation to the family is seen as undesirable and moves are made to change the situation, such as the amount of money and food that is required to be given to a family event like a wedding. The family members were talking and discussing among themselves how to best deal with their changing demands and priorities. This discussion is very much part of the development process. However, in every case study there seemed to be a feeling that the changes required to be made to the traditional way of doing things needed to be made within the family group and not removed from it. One woman described how if a family member removed themselves from their family ties they would be pitied, as this individual was perceived to be lonely and without support, their achievements would lack value because they had not sought to uplift the family in their actions.

This support network provides the families with a social welfare system, where children, the unmarried mothers and the elderly are looked after by the other family members. The network also seems to support and encourage education and business ventures. A Teachers College student and an English Masters graduate who had returned from New Zealand, both commented on the commitment that their family had to their education. They feel this support helps them to achieve their educational goals. Both of them also believe their success in education will provide a way to improve the families' economic and social situation.

This same perception and use of the family network is observed in investment decisions and migration to and from Tonga. A teacher at the Teachers College has returned to Tonga from New Zealand because her father felt somebody from their family should give something back to the family in Tonga. Her father wanted to support the family in Tonga through his daughter's job at the Government school. Although at times she feels her freedom has been restricted, she expressed how she would not let the rest of the family suffer economically due to her own desires. She felt strongly bound to her family, perceiving that where she was today in terms of her education and employment could be directly attributed to the support her family gave. To her, to give back was the most appropriate thing to do.

This support network seems to be a part of families' motivation from a variety of economic conditions. The old elite families appear to use this system for, not only economic benefits but also political and social status (Marcus, 1974, Campbell 1989), while the Tongan families who are commoners seem to focus more on the potential to improve their standard of living. From my discussions and observations, very few of these latter families had been unable to send a member overseas for additional education, and work.

Living Arrangements

The following case studies are examples of families who operate in the capitalist economy but have maintained the traditional practice of sharing their home with extended family members. The reasons for doing so involve supporting waged employment and education commitments, dealing with land shortage and providing social security.

Case Study 1

Work commitments encourage family movement both overseas and within Tonga. In this case the family originally came from Folaha in Tongatapu, which is some twenty minutes south-east of Nuku'alofa. The mother remains in this village with one unmarried daughter and the children of her other daughter who has moved to Ha'apai

with her husband for accessibility to their work. The children have lived with the grandmother for some years, in order to allow the parents to both work full time in Ha'apai. Here the nuclear family of children and parents has changed, replacing the grandmother as the household provider for the children. This situation occurs frequently throughout Tonga when different family members have children and need to have them cared for while they go to find work and often individuals, particularly in Nuku'alofa, Pangai and Neiafu live with a another family member in the area where they can obtain work. Decisions are based around work availability and other relatives being available for child caring.

Case Study 2

Adoption arrangements, which were once performed to ensure kinship descent and remove the situation of childlessness (Morton 1978), still occur in the capitalist economy when there are economic advantages for doing so. In this case the original family lives in Ha'ateiha, a neighbouring village to Nuku'alofa. The mother had three girls and raised two adopted children, a boy and a girl. The mother became sick when the youngest girl was four, this girl was then adopted by an aunt, originally for the reason of caring for the her while the mother recovered. However, as the aunt started to have her own children, this daughter stayed on to help in their upbringing. The aunt, who lived in town, then supported the secondary and tertiary education of this daughter, providing her with a home when she finally got a job.

The daughter still keeps close associations with her original parents, for example providing a loan to allow them to replace their Tongan house, characterised by the use of traditional materials such as the coconut tree, with a Western style one. However, she is also a member of her aunt's family, living and working in with the family business. This situation is typical in Tonga. There are also 'international adoptions', where concerns for a child's education and career potential encourage adoptions. In addition, where another relative has the room and money to support another child, a child is often adopted from a poorer relative. Families will still consider giving a child up for adoption to a relative who wants to adopt their first child, or another child; in these cases the situation is assessed on the benefits for all concerned.

Case Study 3

Living arrangements are often influenced by the availability of space, especially in Nuku'alofa, particularly with the restrictions imposed by the Land Tenure Act of 1875. This type of land tenure system is ineffective in the highly populated island of Tongatupa. Even back in the 1980s it was observed that "the number of taxpayers entitled to land was approximately 33,000, nearly treble the number of existing allotments" (Maude, 1973: 124). To accommodate this situation the families often share land for plantations and town housing. The land tenure policy has resulted in increased reliance being placed on families to provide homes and accommodation where land is scarce.

In case study 3, five out of eight of the sisters and brothers still live in Nuku'alofa. The eldest daughter lives apart from her family, because of her church commitments. However, when accommodation is not available within the church grounds she lives with her sister in one of their family homes. The second daughter was at the time overseas on holiday, her daughter was staying with her grandparents, for the month she is away. The daughter normally lives with her father, as she is presently unmarried. The third daughter is married, has six children and rents the land from her father for T10 dollars a year. Her husband's family comes from Ha'apai. The fourth daughter lives with her father and mother, in a house on the same land. The eldest son, who is married, also lives on the family land. The second and third son live in New Zealand. The fifth daughter is married to a Tongan, who is training to be a doctor in Dunedin. All the family that lives in Tonga share the 10 hectares of plantation. The uncle also works the land and shares the family house as he is not married, but has children.

This family situation seems to be common for families in Nuku'alofa, who still have the majority of family members living in Tonga.

Case Study 4

This family run a guest house, sharing the land with their two younger sons, who live in their own houses on the same land. The youngest daughter shares the house with her parents and young cousin. The living arrangements adhere to the nuclear family unit

with additional members, who require to live in town for work. The family also share the plantation, the brothers work in the fields, while the wives share the management of the guest house.

Case Study 5

The fifth case study relates to family arrangements where only one or two of the family are left in Tonga. The impact of out-migration and international living has broken up the family structure, spreading the family throughout the South Pacific. However, those that stay in Tonga often choose to live there, enjoying the benefits of living in the islands rather than in a city suburb. As the capitalist economy has grown in Tonga, the motivation to migrate, in order to realise the benefits of such an economy, have changed. Individuals are able to realise more of the benefits of a capitalist economy without having to leave their country.

In this case study, the mother's side of the family came from Niue. The mother still lives mostly in Niue and at times New Zealand. The youngest son returned to Niue when he was six. The three daughters live in New Zealand, with the youngest still unmarried sharing a house with her father, who works in New Zealand. The eldest son works and lives with his father. The second son was deported back to Tonga, while the third son apparently desired to return with his older brother.

These two now live in Tonga, studying at the university and working. They prefer the Tongan lifestyle. "Here things are simpler and I don't have to face the fast pace of Auckland" comments Leki when asked about his reasons for returning to Tonga (Interview, September 1995). Although they would like to visit their parents in Auckland they have no intention of returning there.

I observed several of these types of families in Tonga, where one or two members return to Tonga to care for the family land and who enjoy the lifestyle that Tonga offers. Families from all different economic situations face this type of separation and break up of the family. Cash economies in the Pacific rim countries attract many Tongans to the work, education, entertainment and improved wages. However, it does not offer the

culture and lifestyle of Tonga and for many this is strong influencing factor on where they decide to live. Today Tongans return to Tonga to find work, so they can enjoy the benefits of a more relaxed environment.

Family Business

The following group of case studies highlights how the perceptions and attitudes towards businesses have evolved, allowing Western entrepreneurship to work within the kinship structure. In every case observed, the siblings, their children and their parents are involved, in some way, in the business ventures. Included in this are often single uncles and aunts, or adopted cousins. As the children of the siblings grow to adult age, they help in the running of the businesses, then the parents tend to separate the operating of the family businesses to allow their children to have greater control.

Case Study 6

This family is situated in Ha'apai, in the main town of Pangi. The parents live in a large house which is shared by their youngest daughter, two cousins and the children of third daughter. There are eleven children, two of whom are adopted. The adopted boy and girl are from an uncle and brother, the family choose to support them to provide opportunities for a better education. Three of the siblings live in Tongatapu and are all married with children. Another four of the siblings live in Ha'apai either with or near the parents. The last four live overseas, two in USA and two in Auckland.

The family operates several family businesses in Ha'apai, which are coordinated by the eldest son who lives in Nuku'alofa. The petrol station and private manufacturing business are directly run by the third and fourth sons. They are assisted by the two sisters that live in Ha'apai and their own children. The private manufacturing business is situated on the parents' land, in addition to an international money transfer business operated by the youngest sister.

The third daughter is presently living in America with her husband, working as a nurse. They intend to live there long enough to obtain green cards, and then return to Ha'apai with the objective of setting up another business. The family is aware of their plans and

are coordinating their business decisions with them. The family business decisions are primarily made between this daughter, the sisters and brothers in Ha'apai and the brother in Nuku'alofa.

However, the religious beliefs of the family have resulted in some family members being distanced from the rest of the family because have chosen not follow the same beliefs. For example only limited contact is maintained with a son who got divorced and then remarried. However, although they are not directly part of the family organisation, they still have shares and receive a portion of the profits each year. This decision is both a business one and a family one, recognising both the tax benefits for the business and the rights of all the family members to benefit from the family assets.

The family also has extended (*kainga*) relatives who run guest houses in the town. These families do not share economic resources and are considered to be separate from the family business. The contact that is maintained is related to family gatherings, on a social basis, or for regional political events.

The family works together utilising jointly owned resources such as land and buildings. The family who live in Ha'apai all work either within the businesses, or they care for the children of those who are working, or they run the administration of the businesses. The youngest daughter comments on the overseeing of the business decisions "My eldest brother looks after the family businesses from Nuku'alofa, he rings at least once a day to ask questions on the operations and finances. I usually stay at home to answer these calls and transfer funds overseas" (Interview, September 1995).

To succeed in the capitalist business environment this family has done two things. Firstly they realised the value of operating the business within the internal structure of the family and secondly they defined the terms for gift giving to the *kainga* members. Once the ownership of the business was clarified, the shares were distributed to the various shareholders. This was done by the eldest brother, through a legal agreement.

In addition, the family sought to clarify its relationships with the *kainga* members. They did not separate themselves from the extended family, but rather, they removed the business from the extended family. The obligations of giving are realised when family life events occur, such as funerals and marriages. Here the family gives generously and willingly to support the family functions. In addition the food from the plantation is still shared among the extended family, with mutual reciprocity occurring among the wider kinship.

Case Study 7

The seventh case study is a family who live in Nuku'alofa. The family runs a guest house business, a processing plant and a small shop. The father works full time for an government agency, while the wife runs the guest house and the shop. The family has six children, the youngest being the only girl. The three youngest children presently live at home. Two of them in the parents house and another in the neighbouring house with his wife and children. The two eldest boys live overseas, one is married and lives in Canada and the other lives in his parents house in Auckland, while he is studying in New Zealand.

The money from the guest house business was initially used to start up two other businesses, provide vehicles, improve the housing in Tonga and purchase a property in Auckland. Now the income is used to maintain the upkeep of these properties and businesses. These businesses are looked after and maintained by all the members who live on the land. The middle son runs the plant, and the youngest daughter works in the store, when she is not at university. In addition the family makes mats and baskets in a shed based on the property. These are usually made by the elderly aunts.

This family has learned to adjust to the capitalist economy by applying western business practices, such as reinvestment of profits, to their family businesses. However, it is the internal sense of giving and obligation to one's family that ensures the commitment of the children to helping to run the business. The motivation behind the siblings wish to work within the family include economic benefits of employment, a place to live and people with whom to share food and household appliances. In the case of the eldest son

the motivation to send money from Canada is to ensure he will inherit the family land, although he would realistically be expected to share this with his brothers and sisters. In addition to this and probably more importantly it provides the individuals with a sense of belonging. Their place in the community and sense of identity is determined by their place in the family, (Cowling 1989, 1990).

Case Study 8

This family also lives in Nuku'alofa, in one of the outlying areas. The family runs one corner shop, which due to its location has become quite successful. There are five children in the family, with all but one still at school. All the family members run the business, taking time out from their other commitments and duties, to work when required. The store was originally started by the father who returned with sellable items from New Zealand; since that time the shop building has doubled in size, with additional area being obtained from the government to enlarge the shop size again.

Case Study 9

Case study 9 involves another family in Ha'apai, who rent out a house to tourists for limited periods of time. The mother also runs a corner shop, while her sister operates a taxi service. Her uncle, brother and brother-in-law are all fishermen, who sell their fish through out the community. The mother shares the house with children and husband, uncle and cousin. The sister lives down the road in another house with her husband and mother and father. The other members of the family that work together in different business ventures either live in town or out on some of the more remote islands.

In this situation, as in the others, the family has recognised the need to treat the family shop and guest house with a different set of obligations than is used for food that is grown on the plantations. The recognition comes from a growing understanding on how western businesses are required to operate, if they are to succeed.

In all these cases, the families have not moved into individualistic behaviour; instead they have changed the behaviour of gift giving. This change appears to be accepted and acknowledged as appropriate in the community. From my observations and talks with

families, this new way of dealing with family obligations appears to offer benefits for all the family members.

Investment and Distribution

The case studies in consideration here are families that I have observed to be developing this investment attitude. What is important to note is that these families are refining their obligations to give and distribute money, in the same way as they have refined their obligations to supply free food from their shops. The family networks are recognising that investment of time, education and money is an important part of operating successfully in the capitalist economy.

Case Study 10

This family is situated in Nuku'alofa to facilitate the four children's education, after moving from one of the neighbouring villages where the informant's father's family had lived with his fourteen brothers and sisters. The father encourages his children to study hard, as his family struggled to provide for his education, and the children must not miss the opportunity they have been given. This family's commitment to study is one of the reasons for the success of the second daughter, as one of the Teachers College's top students. Although there are many reasons why the daughter has succeeded, from my observations regarding the strength of the family ties, it would appear the family's attitudes have had a positive affect on the behaviour of this young woman.

According to the daughter the educational needs are provided by the family "They still use the plantation for everyday food needs. Often my family will travel to U.S.A. to get the resources that it needs. Money that is sent by the uncles and aunts overseas are distributed among the family here. Some of this is organised into saving accounts at the banks" (Interview, September 1995). Her parents look after her needs now and have invested both time and money into her future. She intends to look after them when they grow old, as her grandparents are looked after now.

Case Study 11

The eleventh case study participant lives in Neiafu, in Vava'u. There are six children in the family, two live in Vava'u working for the government, the rest live in Nuku'alofa and overseas. The family support the different family events that occur, but have began to question the need for such large poles to be supplied for the feasts. The brother wonders whether it would be better to give less to begin with rather than having to take back the left overs. They are also saving some of the money that is sent from other relatives to allow the children to travel, when they need, to for work and study.

The families are being encouraged to be more forward thinking, as the capitalist economy encourages investment into capital goods for immediate and long term use. The desire for lasting assets is growing and with it the recognition that funds are required to accumulate to be able to purchase these articles. Some families have turned to loans in order to purchase either a home or business appliances. However, there are two reasons for this: some services, such as travel, cannot be purchased through loans; and secure employment is required to ensure repayment of the loan.

These moves towards investment are occurring within the family structure, as with the business venture. Futa Hela, director of Atenisi University discusses his observations of the change occurring in the family structure "People are starting to hold on to their money and there is less contribution to the extended families than in previous years. The sharing and building up of capital is occurring between the nuclear family, brothers and sisters, rather than in traditional *kainga*." (Interview, Futa Hela, 2nd October, 1995).

Reciprocity Overseas

Changes to the living arrangements, businesses, investments and remittance relationships allow the Tongan families to exist as a feasible unit in the capitalist economy. The reduced dependence on cash from overseas for consumption purposes is changing the nature of remittance, the extent to which they are sent and the direction in which they are sent. These case studies are examples of families that are now sending money or goods overseas to support the families or to sell as traditional cultural items to

the migrant community; or they are an example of the families who make enough money at home so that they do not require remittances to be sent on a regular basis.

Case Study 12

Case Study 12 participants live in Ha'apai, the mother, father and two children remain in Ha'apai, while the three oldest children presently live in New Zealand to finish their tertiary education and to find work. While the first obtained a scholarship to study in New Zealand, the other two have been paid for by the family from the profits of their family shop. In this case the parent regularly sends money to their children, while the children will occasionally send clothes home for the family, or to be sold in the shop.

Case Study 13

In this case study, the eldest brother runs a large shop in central Nuku'lofa. He has been quite successful in his business and no longer receives funds from his two brothers in United States, or sister in New Zealand. Instead, he organises the shipment of traditional Tongan clothes and tapa to be sent to his brothers in United States who sell them in the community. The brothers retain a proportion of the profits and send the remainder home in the form of clothes, games and other items for their eldest brother's shop.

Case Study 14

The taxi driver in this case study, described how he was a member of a wider group, who nearly all lived overseas. The family rarely sent remittances back home, but rather he remained in Tonga to care for the family land and ensure the next generation would still have access to their home country and their land entitlement. The money he made as a taxi driver was used to care for own his needs, any additional funds required for the family property was obtained from the members overseas. When the family returns home, they stay with him at the family home and share the family plantation.

Migration has not removed the contacts maintained between the family members, nor the sense of commitment to the wider group. While living in Tonga meets the needs of the taxi driver, it also serves to ensure the family return to an established home.

Case Study 15

Case Study 15 deals with is a family in Tongatapu who receive foodstuffs and clothes from their relatives in New Zealand, for sale at the market. From their uncle in U.S.A. they receive the occasional sum of money. This Tongan family who live in New Zealand, also sent their daughter back to Tonga to work in Nuku'alofa and use her time and income to support her grandmother, uncle and his family. This sought of support is a similar concept to that of sending money and goods.

Concluding the Evidence

Families and the role they play in the economy are an essential part of the Tongan economic development. In the past, large kinship networks supported each other through supplying food, shelter, practical help and a social network. Within these family structures, the individual built up a sense of belonging and a sense of obligation to serve the family.

In contemporary Tongan society, this has changed. The capitalist economy has placed many new pressures and influences on the Tongan family structure. In reaction, the family networks have reduced in size and have limited the general economic contact with the extended relatives. Different researchers, such as Parsons (1949) and Grijp (1993), perceive this will eventually lead to a total breakdown of the kinship structure and a move to individualisation in cultures such as Tonga.

Writers such as James and Morton point to the Land Tenure Laws of 1875 to support their suggestion that the Tongan culture is atomising. They conclude that the land ownership system lends itself to individual use and control of land. However, the shortage of land, particularly in the towns, actually encourages families to share property and housing. For these families the benefits are greater to share and utilise the same land, rather than look to paying for the use of somebody else's land.

Other researchers such as Grijp focus on the issues of gift giving to the extended family as being the major cause for business failure. However, this traditional behaviour is also

changing to allow for entrepreneurial activity within the family structure. The amount and extent of gift giving is reducing. In contemporary Tongan society this obligation and sense of being part of group is utilised to provide a support network for economic development.

The essential entrepreneurial characteristics of loyalty and commitment found in successful businesses in the Western world are to be found in the Tongan family networks. These family networks utilise the strengths of communication and sharing of resources between the family members, both within Tonga and internationally. These evolving networks encourage investment, which is apparent in their attitude towards education and work, and also in the changing uses of remittances.

Within this small island group in the South Pacific, the potential for economic growth does exist. Motivated by consumerism and technological advancement, Tongans are finding ways to be involved in the capitalist economy. Probably one of the most effective ways to develop entrepreneurial enterprises in this environment is to set up economic networks to share resources, reducing establishment and running costs. The Tongan family networks are ideal for this, providing economic assistance within their own country and across the seas.

Chapter Six

Loyalty, Commitment and the Corporation of Kin.

'Loyalty leaders offer people a fulfilling work experience and pride in their loyalties, which are based on values rather than on mercenary convenience. This pride is a powerful source of motivation and energy, and it redoubles the economic advantages inherent in a loyalty-based system" (Reichheld, 1996: 27).

Assessing the Issues

Loyalty is an essential key to the long term success of relationships in the business world. Loyalty is required from investors, customers and employees. As the quote suggests, loyalty is a strong motivation and driving force to work hard for those people to whom you are loyal. This loyalty is derived from sharing common values and ideas.

Nowhere else is such loyalty more prevalent than in the family. It is the bonds of allegiance, commitments and sharing of similar values that hold the family together. It is these characteristics that are looked upon by modern business as essential to any relationship and a key factor to economic growth.

Most modern, Westernised industrial societies have moved away from an emphasis on loyalty within kinship structures, seeing this as restricting, and choosing instead to strive for independence and individualism. Individuals need freedom from the extended kinship obligations and commitments, which are perceived as limiting to competition and to the business of making a profit. However, what this philosophy fails to recognise is the impact that these intrinsic values of commitment and loyalty have on our decision making. We are inclined to support those who we recognise and share common values with. In modern societies time and energy is spent on re-establishing these bonds, with books such as "The Loyalty Effect" (Reichheld, 1996) written to encourage and help the process. In traditional and transitional societies these bonds are established from generation to generation through the extended family kinships.

It is the loyalty effect that allows the family structures to work so effectively in traditional subsistence societies, as seen in Tonga. Whether it is working on the land, fishing or child raising, it is shared among the family. And it is this same sense of loyalty that is underlying in the migrations and remittances of the "transnational corporation of kin" who live throughout the South Pacific and its surrounding rim.

Loyalty is recognised in this thesis as one of the key factors for the continued existence of the kinship structure in modern societies. This chapter focuses on the research performed in Tonga and compares it with a theory that questions the significance of the extended family in industrialised economies, drawing attention to the importance of loyalty and therefore, the strength of the family structure that operates in Tonga and abroad.

However, the issues raised by Parsons and others, regarding the necessity and consequential impact of families being involved in a capitalist society, need to be addressed and evaluated in relation to the Tongan families. This section attempts to establish why the kinship structures are not moving towards the nuclear family system. In the following section the Tongan families' networks are compared to the concept of "transnational corporation of kin". This notion is questioned and discussed in relation to the Tongan families.

The relevance of such research and questioning of ideas, is worthless unless brought into context with the issues faced by Tongan people today. Contemporary migration and land tenure policies impede on the mobility and success of the ordinary people of Tonga, and their attempts for economic growth. And since, as Hau'ofa observes, it is the 'ordinary people' of Tonga who utilise this kinship structure across the seas, it is necessary to recognise the major international and domestic issues that affect them.

This final section also draws together the different schools of thought on the sustainability of the MIRAB (Bertram and Watters, 1986) economy and the necessity of remittances and migration. This thought is taken one step further to suggest that such a

system is dependent on the strength of the kinship structures and their ability to evolve in the capitalist system.

Conflicting Concepts?

Researchers such as Parsons suggest modern economy systems change the functions of the individuals within the family, providing them with a different set of priorities and goals. Individuals are encouraged to extend themselves in ideas and behaviours beyond those established in the kinship structure, particularly in the areas of occupational expertise and social status interaction. This divergence from the ideas and goals of the family are suggested to cause conflicts and a breakdown in the ability of different family members to relate, as they not longer share common values or interests.

Research suggests that it is the universalist characteristics of the industrialised economies which come into conflict with the ascribed qualities of the family, encouraging the breakdowns (Parson, 1949). Along with these conceptual conflicts, the roles and functions which traditionally formed the structure of the kinship system, are no longer required in the industrial society. Families members are left without a sense of purpose or duty to fulfil. Individualism is seen as the natural consequence. It allows for increased mobility, both geographically and occupationally, and it removes the struggle individuals have with incompatible obligations.

The growth of townships and the cash society means more Tongan communities are living and working in capitalist systems, both at home and overseas. This increased exposure is causing conflict for the Tongan people, between the growing desire for individualism on the one hand and maintaining family obligations on the other. While this conflict can be attributed to all those factors previously noted, conceptually it is the divergence between defining a relationship by ascribed qualities attributed at birth, and the universalist and achievement-orientated criteria associated with capitalist societies.

Why is this so? To understand the impact the capitalist way of thinking has had on the Tongan people it necessary to re-address those issues discussed in Chapter Three that refer to the Tongan values and ideas regarding the family, and the influence it has on a

Tongan's decisions and attitudes. Traditionally the Tongan family structure is based on a large kinship system, with the *famili* representing the closer family members while the *kainga* is the larger group. Tongans today, generally seem to maintain daily contact with the core group, centred around the grandparents' nuclear family, and with interaction with other members depending on economic and social needs.

Most Tongan families are involved in providing for the needs of the family members. Working with each other to make financial decisions, regarding for example, a family business, or the future of one of the younger generation. In this study, it was apparent that these decisions within the family are still based on the web of emotional ties, dependent on maintaining a system of obligations and particularistic determination of relationships. For example, family members provide accommodation, educational funding and airfares for their children and often for the children of their brothers and sisters.

This help is then returned by the children to either the primary care-givers or the secondary care-givers or both. Often a child will recognise their primary care-giver with the same sense of obligations and commitment as their parents, who may be an aunt or grandparent with whom they spent most of their childhood (refer to Case Study 1, Chapter 5). Or the children will be asked (and often expected) to help an uncle or aunt who has helped the parents previously. This help may come in the form of remittances if the child has moved overseas, or to a different island group, by working in the shops, or on the plantations (refer to Case Study 6, Chapter 5).

The siblings are also expected to recognise family commitments. Often the brothers and sisters who left their children with their another sibling will have done so to allow themselves freedom to travel to find work. In return for the support back home they send money or gifts back to the family to help in the raising of the children. Most brothers and sisters leave their children with other family members to allow them to access resources for the benefit of the family group. As described in Case Study 5 (Chapter Five), the brother and his wife were expected home with the money and experience they had gained, to help establish another family business. In fact all the

case studies discussed in Chapter Five provide varying examples of this behaviour. Family members feel obligated through loyalty (*mateaki*), respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and duty (*fatongia*) to provide for and help others within the family group. It would be fair to say that their decisions both economically and socially, are strongly influenced by their commitment to maintaining their family relationships.

Nevertheless, a capitalist society tends to be driven by the aspirations of individuals who don't wish to be limited by family obligations. Apparently this allows individuals the liberty to be objective about their decision making and not controlled by favouritism. Some members of the Tonga society agree with this hypothesis, which is observed in Tonga in cases where enterprises had chosen not employ family members.

This same attitude towards individualism is noticed in family disputes over the use of personal income, either for saving for individual purposes, or for consumption by the wider group. While these disputes over obligations did not seem so apparent between the *famili* members, there are growing feelings of resentment to maintaining large economic commitments to the *kainga* group, which usually involves the giving of large quantities of food and money to family weddings, funerals, other family members or church obligations.

The traditional senses of loyalty, love and commitment are being challenged by the desire to maximise profits and see personal gain, without consideration for other members of the family, particularly in the establishment of a business, where individuals fear the senses of obligations will involve them having to provide free good and services, or employment to the wider family group. "Compare the optimistic attempts of many Tongans to set up a small shop ... these attempts often fail because they cannot turn down requests of relatives" (Grijp 1993: 130).

As a result of these fears, different Tongans have chosen to not employ family members or provide free gifts and in some cases have substantially removed themselves from interaction with the wider family. Their value system has changed. These individuals tend to lean towards the Western approach of individualism, with a more universalist

view of treating all people the same, regardless of their association. Therefore, they judge people on their achievements in the capitalist economy, by the type of job they have, the money they make and the success they have in the work they do. They see family associations leading towards nepotism and therefore, inefficiencies in decision making. Inefficiencies are presumed to occur, for instance, because family members are employed out of obligation, rather than because they have the necessary skills and characteristics for the job. In addition, business decisions are affected by the needs and desires of other family members, for example the use of business profits for family gatherings rather than reinvestment. The desires of the *kainga* may not always work to maximise opportunities for the business.

The consequence is a growing disassociation with the wider *kainga*, particularly in the larger towns and overseas, with traditional obligations and commitments lessening or being removed all together. However, the *famili* groups, still maintain strong economic and social associations. There is a vast number of Tongan families who have not adhered to the individualistic way of thinking. Instead of fearing the family obligations, these families are re-adjusting their obligations to accommodate the economic demands of a capitalist society. Several examples are provided in Chapter Five that highlight how the values of loyalty and love encourage commitment to the family business. Therefore, members of the family consider the business as working for the benefit of the *famili* group. Adjusting family decisions in accordance with the needs of the business. This allows it to operate efficiently and produce profits that can be used by the *famili* group such as employing those members which suit the job.

The establishment of business ventures is decided by the family members who have the skills to run a business. They also take into consideration where they live and what resources they have access to. For example, a family may have a brother in politics who uses his influence to help in obtaining the correct permits, while another member who lives overseas will send required funds. Yet another will help in the day to day running of the business. This behaviour incorporates both the ascribed values and universalistic characteristics of relationships in their decision making.

Changing the Way Things are Done

Conceptual conflicts, that can transpire in the operating of a business, are not the only determinants impacting on the kinship structure. The roles and functions of families in traditional societies are different from those in industrial societies, not only in the day to day activities which involve a move from subsistence living to a greater reliance on technology, but also in the recognition of birth rights.

Traditionally Tongans differentiate between their relationship with their eldest sibling and the other siblings, particularly the eldest daughter who is given additional respect and honour, and the eldest brother who traditionally inherits all the land and possessions from the father. Tongan families maintain this unique relationship with the eldest sister when she becomes an aunt. The aunt is given additional respect and honour, usually represented in the way of gifts at birthdays or family gatherings. She also has influence over decisions regarding the future of her nephews and nieces.

In modern societies the nuclear family structure places more emphases on the role of the mother and the strength of the relationship between the husband and wife. Generally children are the responsibility of the parents. It is usually the parents who arrange care for the children and their long term plans. While family may be involved, in a lot of cases it is usually only if requested, lasts for only a short period, and/or has limitations to the input that is expected.

In Tongan society the responsibility is more often than not shared among the family. With different members caring for the children at different times depending on the needs of the children, such as their needs in accessing education. In addition, the needs of the adults are important, for the parent who requires their child to be cared for, it may be to allow them to work or travel, or to fulfil a family or church obligation on another island or overseas. For the parent who provides the care, it may be because they have no daughters or sons of their own, or it may be in acknowledgment of family obligations and a sense of reciprocity.

The aunt or grandparents are usually the secondary care-givers, and participate in instilling the family and cultural values into the children, either through living with the aunt or grandparent, or through regular visits with them. The child often grows up with a sense of responsibility and honour, not only towards their parents, but also towards their aunts, uncles and grandparents. Evidence of this is noted in the case studies observed and discussed in Chapter Five.

Problems often occur when this system is influenced by involvement in a Western society such as New Zealand. When families move to New Zealand, traditional contacts are reduced or removed altogether. So children can grow up without a sense of how the traditional culture operates. Even if other members visit or live with the families for an extensive period of time, the attitudes and behaviour of the culture the family interacts with can impart a very different view of family than is traditionally perceived.

Such situations are emphasised when advice is required regarding the health or education of the children. Western cultural-based organisations usually assume the parents are the primary care-givers, unless otherwise notified, and therefore they will consult the parents on issues regarding the upbringing of the child. In the Tongan culture the extended relatives can have a substantial, if informal, role in the raising of the children within the family group. In these situations their input may not be sought, which diminishes the traditional role of other family members (particularly the aunt) in the decision making process. So while the needs of the children may still be met, long term the traditional roles and functions of the family may change to reflect those found in the Western culture. Cowling discusses these changes in her work "On being Tongan: Response to concepts of tradition" (1990), where she carried out several questionnaires in Australia, with Tongan communities, and recorded their changing perceptions of kinship and traditions.

The evidence I obtained relates to those families I observed in Tonga. In speaking with me, most families expressed some concern as to the breakdown of family values, and traditions, reflecting for example on the loss of their brother or sister who has moved overseas and lost contact with the rest of the family.

In order to avoid or combat this perceived loss, contact by mail, visiting and phoning are used to reinforce traditional values. The church in the new country can play a vital role in keeping the language and traditional values alive and uniting the Tongan families. The continued use of the language both in Tonga, (still the official language used in primary schools), and in the homes of Tongan families overseas, also helps to reinforce the cultural ideologies. Another method I observed in Tonga, was the sending back of children to family members in Tonga, both as children and later as working adults; to teach the cultural ideas and instil the families values of loyalty, love, respect and reciprocity.

It is not only the families that live overseas who are affected by influences of a Western economic system. Economic success has long being a criteria for power and influence in Western society and is slowly having the same impact on family roles in Tonga. Traditionally members of the family obtained their role and responsibilities from birth. Ascribed qualities were attributed, based on the whether you were born first, born a girl or a boy, and into which family you were born. These ascribed attributes determined the respect and authority that one was given in relation to the rest of the family. In Tonga today, younger brothers and sisters who have done well in business, and have economic resources are called upon more and more by the family to play a greater role in the decision making for the family, for example in organising family gatherings, or controlling family finances, such as the uncle in Case Study 12 (Chapter Five) who is considered well off financially, and therefore, more influential than the father who is the eldest brother and would traditional by inherit this role.

While changes are certainly occurring, families seem to recognise this and try to avoid letting this break-up the family system. Families adjust their perceptions of family roles. Capitalist occupations also affect the family roles through the changing work commitments of the individuals. Family members, who do not possess the traditional birth rights associated with a position of authority, can be asked to take on the responsibility of looking after the family land, or running the family shop, while the elder brother or sister, who does possess this birth right, works on another island or lives

overseas. Decisions are often made in these circumstances by the younger brothers, or uncles and aunts most involved in the situation, rather than by the family member who traditionally occupied this role, such as the father or eldest brother.

Occupational and Geographical Mobility for Individuals in the Family

Restrictions on mobility imposed by the family are considered to be another limitation of the kinship system in industrial economies. Parsons and others suggest that the mobility of the individual is essential to the workings of a capitalist society. There are two forms of mobility recognised by the researchers of this theory: occupational and geographic. Occupational mobility, implies the freedom to move through the occupational stratas, while geographic mobility allows the freedom to move to other regions and economic centres in search of work. These movements should be determined by the achievements and desires of the individual, not by the ideas and values of the family.

Parsons (1949) and Goode (1966) both acknowledge a connection between the occupation of an individual and the social stratum they align themselves with. When family members reside in distinctively different occupational and social strata groups, Parsons and Goode both submit that the values and interests are significantly different in these stratas and therefore, cannot be shared. Consequently, the links between the family members break down.

Tongan families who interact within the capitalist economy are required to work in different occupations and environments than other family members. This reduces the day-to-day contact that is maintained between the family members, and allows for a growing involvement with individuals outside of the family. This contact with values and ideas outside of the family network can redefine those ideologies that are important to Tongans. Allegiances are formed and commitments made to friends and workmates. The differences may not be profound. However, at times friends and workmates exist in dissimilar social stratas, where views and priorities seem to directly oppose the values of the individual's family. Their different perspective on religion, material resources and the importance of family influence the Tongans. Particularly in terms of the place

they want to live, the amount of money they have, the education they receive, the work they do and obligations they have towards their families.

However, as Cowling and Marcus (1981) acknowledge, in Tonga there does not appear to be this sense of cognitive dissonance between family members who live lifestyles in different social stratas. For the Tongan people the values of family are such that difference in economic wealth, political power and social recognition still plays a relatively small part in how the individuals are valued within the family. As one of the interviewees pointed out (Case Study 2, Chapter Five), Tongans look to the ability of an individual to maintain relationships with other family members being of paramount importance, as opposed to those values recognised outside the family.

Marcus comments: "The fact that commoner elite families must mediate high prestige roles at home and a relatively low or marginal status as minorities abroad does not generate the kind of cognitive dissonance which Westerners might anticipate" (Marcus, 1981: 60). In fact Marcus goes on to comment that one of the key elements of economic strength and flexibility for these families is the ability to integrate all kinds of resources, geographically and occupationally separated (Marcus, 1981). It is this ability that ensures the links are maintained between members of the same *famili* who work and exist in differing areas.

Marcus also considers the other issue of mobility raised by Parsons, that of geographical mobility. Tongan families have little choice as to the geographical positioning of the family group if economic growth is to be obtained. At least one or two of the family will be expected to reside overseas, while others will work in different islands groups and/or will spend time overseas with other relatives. This necessity to live geographically apart would seem to suggest increased likelihood of family breakdown and loss of family values and respect.

Parsons discusses the need for individuals to be free to move to where jobs are available. Not only for the future economic success of the individual but also to allow the capitalist economy to function in such a way that the people with the required skills

are available to meet the demands of the industry in required area. Family obligations are seen to restrict this movement, as they require day to day emotional and economic commitment. Parsons comments that only isolated conjugal family units, "which are not bound to a particular residential location by occupational, property, or status interests of other members" (Parsons, 1949: 263), can function in the capitalist society.

The very nature of Tonga's economic situation is questioned as a result of this notion. If the families that move overseas, who are relied upon to send remittances home, move away from the kinship group then what is the future for the Tongan MIRAB economy? There is evidence of this occurring, as observed by researchers such as Grijp (1993), Cowling (1990) and James (1991) who comments, "the migrants undergo, seemingly paradoxically, an accompanying shift away from family responsibility to individualism as their time away increases" (James 1991: 20).

However, there is a growing pool of evidence to suggest that these *famili* groups, because of their senses of love and obligations, are able to overcome the hardships of distance to maintain a common sense of commitment to the family. This study, while focusing on the way economic change is influencing the families in Tonga, also observed the number of different families who had members in other countries, yet continued to maintain regular contact. Particularly when the economic links between families members were recognised, the family tended to work as a group to the benefit of the *famili* unit.

Geographical distance does not seem to be a significant barrier, particularly as the sense of reciprocity, central to the subsistence economies, is still apparent in this economy. Bertram (1986: 810) develops this notion with his suggestion that "Tongan (and other similar) households are characterised by remittance transfers among various component parts of the 'transnational corporation of kin' which direct the allocation of each island's family labour around the regional economy". The present study suggests that this "transnational corporation of kin" idea is no longer in its fledging stage of providing

consumption assistance from the Pacific rim countries. There is a growing acknowledgment of the need to use the funds for investment to benefit the family group.

Kinship in Retrospect

Parsons' studies focus on the expectation that kinship structures will evolve into the Western type nuclear family structure. While this has occurred in some instances in Tonga, there are a large majority of families who have learnt to adapt the kinship system to a different economic system. Families have adopted a sense of objectivity to the running of businesses and assessing individuals on more than just the role they have as a member of the family. In doing so they have not lost their sense of loyalty to the family, they have merely redefined in their minds what is meant by 'family' and the obligations that are expected.

Secondly, living in a cash economy requires individuals and families to adapt to new roles and functions. Parsons refers to this as being a key area for family break down. As the family, as such, is no longer as important in a society focused on individualism. However, Tongan families have used the family to provide support to each other, both economically and socially; thereby, increasing the mobility and resources of the individual.

Finally, in terms of mobility, families are suggested to limit the flexibility of the individual to move between different occupational social stratas, and geographical situations. However, Tongan families work in a variety of occupational environments and as myself and other researchers have observed, families have not allowed this to become a barrier to relating to each other or sharing of common goals.

Geographical migration to overseas countries is an essential part of acquiring the necessary resources for economic development. Families have stayed together despite the geographical separation, because they have shared goals and a deep sense of loyalty to the family group. Hau'ofa sums this up with his comment that: "Islanders are much more concerned with maintaining ties with a wide range of relatives, their social and kinship networks, along which they have traditionally moved goods and services as well

as people, have widened in ways never before possible to cover Australia, New Zealand and the United States" (Hau'ofa, 1982: 21).

"The Transnational Corporation of Kin"

In acknowledging the existence of the migrant, remittance families, researchers such as Bertram and Watters have, as previously mentioned, termed them "transnational corporation of kin". They see these kinships as providing a global network which access resources from sectors outside the domestic economy. These families are termed "transnational corporation of kin" because they "allow kin groups to colonise and exploit economic opportunities across a wide range of economic environments" (Bertram and Watters, 1985: 499).

Harris (1990) adds value to this perception of the kinship structures by suggesting how they possess characteristics similar to a business corporation. In his explanation of why kinships have continued to exist in capitalist economies, Harris notes the nature of the kinship structure with its ability to control information. "Because of their informational and fiduciary character, kin links in the network will be used in preference to other equally available types of link, and this will serve to restrict resource flows to the benefit of kin" (Harris, 1990: 94). Harris goes on to explain how the kinship network shares information within, while restricting its access out, thus limiting the opportunities for competition in the market place because of the control families have over information which provides them with a competitive advantage over individuals or other groups in the market place. These ideas of Harris suggest a system resembling a monopolistic corporation.

Brown and Connell provide an example of the working of these "transnational corporation of kin" with their study of the flea market in Tonga. The flea market provides an informal environment for families to sell goods sent from migrant family members overseas. Participation in the flea market is limited to those who have the family contacts overseas, as it is primarily these goods that are demanded by the market buyers. In some cases the family has reciprocated this relationship by sending traditional goods to relative overseas to on sell in metropolitan economies. "Indeed ...

the flea-market operators and their extended families living abroad had become part of a small- scale international import-export system" (Brown and Connell, 1993b: 22).

The Tongan family networks give credence to the concept of "transnational corporation of kin" not only in the international arena but also in the domestic market. It is here that the Tongans establish their family businesses, gaining valuable experience in entrepreneurship and investment, essential qualities to operating in the capitalist economy. The flea market is a case in point, where families work as a business unit to distribute and sell the goods. In my own research I came across evidence of these family businesses throughout the island groups of Tonga, who worked as economic units to run businesses or to provide financial support for the future of individual family members, both at home and internationally.

The case studies in Chapter Five highlight the nature in which these operations work. Families initially start by sending members overseas to obtain paid employment and obtain the necessary cash required to set up a business. Goods as well as cash are sent home and small shops are set up similar to the flea market discussed by Brown and Connell. Over time these shops derive their own income and begin to recognise a profit. Often other family members are sent overseas, either from the earnings from the family business such as a shop or through grants and scholarships. Some of these individuals immediately return funds to the family, adding to the income the family already has, while others go to enhance their education, in order to provide for the future needs of the family. With family plantations providing the necessary food, and traditional family land providing the accommodation, the income received is used on church and consumption expenditure. However, additional cash is used to purchase goods for the business, or establish another operation, such as a fishing or taxi enterprise.

A highly successful example of this is found in the case study 5 in the Ha'apai Group who have several family members overseas and at home (Case Study 6, Chapter Five). Initially the family sent money home from work in New Zealand and the United States. However, now enough funds are generated from the family businesses established as a result of these remittances that remittance funds are no longer required. In fact funds

and goods are regularly sent overseas. The family is now focusing on its succession plans, paying for the educational needs of the young and encouraging both manual and administrative experience in the businesses.

Family businesses such as this provide a means for economic growth in the Tongan economy. The strength of loyalty shared between the family is enhanced by a growing awareness of how a capitalist system works and advantages of using the resources at hand to enhance one's position. These family businesses would appear to have the foundations to last beyond the first and second generations involved. They recognise the traditional cultural values relating to kinship ties, while adapting to manage effectively in metropolitan economies. This is highlighted by the implicit combination of motives to stay a part of the family. Their desire to send remittances, work in a family business or pay for the education of another family member is not just to fulfil traditional kinship obligations, but it also offers personal gain and provides a means to improve their standard of living. "Remittances are motivated not only by altruism but also by 'self interest' and migrants' longer-term investment interests in the home economy" (Brown and Connell, 1993b: 13).

The sustainability of these family groups are not only dependent on the success of the business but also on the strength of the family network which provides support both in the domestic and international arena. The family business or "transnational corporation of kin" is able to sustain its existence because many of the costs of living are reduced by sharing family resources. Family plantations and town plots, are used by most of the family, with plantation foods spread among the *famili*. However, it is more than material goods that are offered by the family.

The family effectively works as the social welfare system for the economy, looking after both the younger and older generations. Tonga does not provide a superannuation scheme or unemployment benefit, because for the most part families support their own members. This also means adopting children from other siblings to allow the brother or sister the freedom to travel in search of work, or providing the child with the opportunity for an improved education.

This family system of support encourages the continued active role of the grandparents and elderly uncles and aunts. Often the elder generation look after the young, as in the Case Study 1 (Chapter Five) where the daughter and her husband worked in another island group. They continue to share in the traditional ceremonies and in the cultural education of the children. The family does not distance the grandparents from the nuclear family, which occurs in Western societies. Rather the nuclear family usually acts as the spoke, of which the grandparents are the hub for the larger family unit.

The family members who do not have full time paid employment, work either in the family plantation or in the family home, often caring for their children and the children of their siblings. While it is often the women who remain at home, men who have retired, or are unable to find work, participate in the plantation, maintain the up-keep of the properties and will often fish to provide additional food for the family. The nature of the family unit encourages active participation, as often the rebuttal from families members is worse than the effort required to help. Families openly recognise a sense of reciprocity, and will ensure that it is enforced, encouraging the more lazy of the family members.

These support networks provide the backbone behind the kinship system. They are the communication and friendship channels which Hau'ofa speaks (1993), and the information providers and controllers that Harris (1990) suggests, in his discussion of kinships, as economic entities. Without these networks the economic activities of the kinship structure could not work as effectively. This infrastructure, together with the entrepreneurial operations of the family both at home and overseas, liken the Tongan kinships to a "transnational corporation".

Kinships: A Link in the Chain

So far our discussion have recognised the ability of the Tongan kinship structure to readjust and maintain the kinship system in a capitalist economy, and how they can work as "transnational corporations of kin". However, what impact will this have on the economy of Tonga and what is the future for such a kinship system? These two issues

will be addressed here. The first issue, considers some of the external factors the kinship system is dependent on in order to function as economic units internationally. These external factors relate to the need to be able to access land in Tonga, the need to be able to travel to economic resource centres in other countries, the need to have access to economic funds and the need for education, both academic and cultural. The second major issue considers the dependence of the remittance, migration economy upon the survival of the kinship system, and therefore, the dependence of Tongans' economic development on the family.

In addressing these topics, it would be too simplistic to try and resolve these issues in the following paragraphs. Rather the purpose of this section is to consider some of the factors that have a material impact on the sustainability of the Tongan family structure and the Tongan economy.

Extraneous Concerns for the Kinship System

The sustainability of the kinship system within Tonga is threatened by potential weak links in the chain, such as the family's access to traditional land rights. The Land Tenure System within Tonga, denotes that the Crown has dominant control over all the land in Tonga. The land is owned by the Crown and as such cannot be sold or transferred between Tongans and foreigners. Common Tongans are granted the land under the conditions of the Land Tenure Act 1875. The details of this Act are outlined in Chapter Three. However, in summary, the situation in Tonga is such that there are limited incentives to improve land use due to a restrictive land ownership system.

Land value is not recognised because there is no formal market in which to buy and sell the land. When families go overseas they leave their land to go to waste rather than sell it to parties who would utilise the land, or continue to maintain it because of the economic value that it holds. While some families will send members home to look after land, in recognition of the value, which continued associations with Tonga has for them, the lack of recognised economic value of land means families are not encouraged to incorporate an economic strategy in their land usage.

Another consequence is that alternative land uses are not recognised as holding varying levels of value. So the opportunity cost of land use is not readily recognisable. For example there is no greater capital return from the land if a profitable business is established on it or if it is left untouched. Therefore, the present system fails to recognise the investment families are making in their choice of land use and while, in the short term, having land granted rather than having to be bought means most families will have some access to land, it does not reward the wise stewardship of the land, and does not allow there to be any equilibrium between the demand and supply of land. Thus the economic initiatives of the Tongan families are hampered both by limited access to land, and the undervaluation of land in key geographical and economic areas.

Land tenure issues, relate primary to the constraints the family faces in the domestic economy. While migration to the Pacific Rim countries is dependent not only upon the political and economic climate of the home country but also on the economic climate within the receiving country. For Tongan families the ability to migrate to alternative economies is a key component of their strategy to better their standard of living. Without this access the families are limited to the economic resources within Tonga, which at best, are limited.

Migration to other countries is not an automatic right and the ability to do so is usually related to offers of scholarships, grants or in the case of New Zealand a special relationship between the Tongan and the New Zealand Government. At times the issue of migration can come under hot debate, particularly when the receiving country is facing economic recessions, and looks to its migrate classes as expendable items which are only considered to add short term value to the economy. While this perception may have few merits, it is often used as a political tool and as such is a real threat to a migrant dependent economy.

Over time this threat is alleviated somewhat by the establishment of long term residents in the foreign countries. Families then acquire more secure access to these economies. Unfortunately, families left in Tonga who either do not have family overseas or have not maintained contact with their overseas family, are left with limited options for economic

development. Usually these families are also faced with financial constraints and limited access to land. Poverty to some degree in the cash economy is often the resulting predicament. Marcus makes reference to this occurrence in his discussion of the Tongan elites (Marcus, 1981).

Marcus suggests that only the families with some political or economic power are able to establish the necessary international family links and maintain long term permanent migrations. In my own research I observed families restricted to the shores of Tonga, due to having limited finances. However, while cash is a requirement, political contacts did not seem to be. The majority of small *famili* groups whom I spoke with, who used their family networks as economic units internationally, were not dependent on having political influence in Tonga.

What families are dependent on are stable relations between the Government of Tonga and the neighbouring countries. Policies of the Tongan Government which are not acceptable to other governments, could result in the restricted access of Tongans to other countries. In addition, the way in which the Tongan culture assimilates into the receiving country is also of importance. The significance of cultural conflict incurred by the families who choose to remain in foreign countries, has not always been understood or prepared for.

A breakdown of values is not uncommon in these new countries, which can result in both personal and social obstacles represented by disproportionate crime and educational problems for the culture. While there is no conclusive evidence in this area to determine the relationship between cultural loss and social problems, it can be considered a potential threat to the cohesiveness of the Tongan family structure in the new culture. In these situations the church systems work as an organisation to encourage continued association with other Tongans. Marcus (1987) and Cowling (1990) both make reference to the strength of the church and its role in maintaining the Tongan culture in other countries.

Access to a comprehensive education is also of primary importance to future economic development in Tonga. Yet many of the professional educational facilities are not available in Tonga, and so families are required to send their children overseas to get a more advanced education. While many institutions and government agencies provide scholarships and grants, they are hotly contested. Demand can at times outweigh supply by a very large degree. The ability to migrate to the nearby country and access these resources is just as important to the development of the Tongan economy as obtaining access to economic resources such as remittances. It is the stability of these educational, political and economic factors which will aid the long term sustainability of these migrating Tongan kinships.

The Link Between the Remittance, Migration Economies and Kinship Networks

The sustainability of the kinships is of importance because it is central to the remittance, migration economy. This remittance, migration economy which involves families sending funds and goods home to Tonga, has in the past been described as remittance dependence, and was summarised by one school of thought as a "temporary, undesirable and unsustainable stage in development" (Brown and Connell, 1993: 3). This school of thought supports either the move towards development of the export sector and production based on non subsistence cash crops or alternatively a return to "preserving or fostering subsistence sectors in economic development" (Tisdell and Fairbairn, 1984: 240).

Others oppose this theory suggesting that these are futile policies, which will allow for only temporary development. Researchers such as Bertram and Watters (1986) note that despite "declining levels of production and domestic self-sufficiency and the increasing external dependence of these rentier economies, they have become durable and persistent and capable of self-reproduction to the extent that their dependent economic structures are both sustainable, and preferable to a drive for self-reliance". (Brown and Connell, 1993b: 4). This thesis suggests that the durability and sustainability of these South Pacific economies (particularly Tonga) is linked to the robust kinship structure and its ability to adjust to the capitalist economy.

It is these family networks by which the remittances arrive in the country and the means by which they are dispersed. It is within these family groups that the economic decisions are made and where investment and savings are to be encouraged. The Tongan economy is dependent on the effectiveness of these family networks to bring the resources into Tonga and utilise them to the long term benefit of the country. This situation begs the question, can these kinship systems be relied upon and will they continue to exist in the modern cash economies?

This thesis, adds weight to the growing perception that family groups can function in capitalist economies. The economic effectiveness of the family groups, noted in this thesis, provides strong incentives to stay part of the family group, thus ensuring its survival. The situation becomes self perpetuating where commitment and loyalty to the family results in economic gain for the group, so encouraging the individuals to enhance their support for the system. This thesis would suggest that, with encouragement, these kinship entities can provide economic opportunities for development in countries such as Tonga.

"The Loyalty Effect"

Yet in the past the suggestion that the Tongan families operate as "transnational corporation of kin" was open to speculation and question. Parsons (1949) suggests that kinships do not work in the business world; they limit the mobility of individuals, impede on the objectivity of decisions which effect relationships and impose obligations which consider the family before the business. Yet, in the South Pacific, in countries such as Tonga, families are operating as large business networks both at home and in the international arena.

They are called "transnational corporation of kin" because they network internationally to provide a wide pool of resources for the family. They are also recognised as corporations because the families share a common goal, which helps them to be objective in their thinking, as their aim is to meet the needs of the group as a whole. The families diversify their talents, not limiting themselves to producing only one type of good or service, but encouraging family members to become involved in an

assortment of occupations. They use both the strategies of horizontal and vertical integration, controlling resources in the primary industry, such as the plantation, right through to the tertiary sector and service industries. The concepts of economies of scale are also apparent with the pooling together of resources, thus reducing the fixed costs of operating business networks. The workers of this "corporation" also benefit as they are offered social security for the young and old, while still providing opportunities for financial gain.

Individuals are offered incentives to stay part of the system. For a young person, limited in personal resources the family system provides an infrastructure, which creates opportunities otherwise beyond the reach of the individual's financial means. As the individual gets older the system provides security, commitment to the needs of the individual, and loyalty.

It is this loyalty which is the missing link in the industrial society noted by Parsons, and others. Individualism and competition do not encourage loyalty, they encourage rivalry. Yet business is all about relationships, relationships between the customer, investor and the employee. To maintain effective relationships there must be an essence of trust, a sharing of common goals, fundamentally a basis of loyalty to the needs and requirements of all the individuals involved.

Tongan kinships still possess this element, and are learning to use it to their advantage, controlling, channelling and using the network throughout the international arena. However, like any corporation it is open to threats and weaknesses. Threats come in the form of external considerations, such as the limitations of the land tenure system and the vulnerability of migration policies. Families counter these by establishing permanent residents in a variety of countries. The weaknesses are recognised in the form of changing priorities and ideals, a break away from the traditional cultural system to the Western ideologies. Families work to maintain the language and traditions of their culture in an attempt to avoid this outcome.

The kinship system also offers opportunities, opportunities such as economic development for the ordinary people of Tonga. Countries such as Tonga are recognised as being heavily dependent on the remittances and migrations of its kinships. Therefore, the sharpening durability of the kinship groups in the capitalist economy, and the resulting productivity derived from the system, provides possibilities for Tonga's economic development. The family is of course the key link in the process, because the family system has the loyalty effect, which unifies and motivates one of Tonga's key resources, its people.

Chapter 7

"The Broader Picture of Reality".⁴

"What is in place is an invisible trapezoid-shaped circuit across the Pacific. People, money, goods, ideas and influences are in motion virtually all the time .. extensive networks of Tongan *famili* in dispersion primarily operate as such, facilitating the sharing of news of family members, the movement of remittances, and the movement of individuals as temporary visitors, students or would-be migrants" (Cowling, 1990: 301).

Considering the Future

Hau'ofa (1993: 12) talks of the family networks and their internationalisation as the "broader picture of reality" for the South Pacific countries. He, like Bertram and Watters, recognises a potential in the family system and the remittance, migration economy that is centred around the family. This thesis sought to establish what strengths there are in this family system, the likely impact that modernisation was going to have on the family structure, and the dependence of the MIRAB economies on the family system. It has the overall intention of questioning Hau'ofa's suggestion that the South Pacific should be seen as a "Sea of Islands" as opposed to "Islands in the vast sea" (Hau'ofa, 1993: 1).

Hau'ofa's thoughts are set as the foundation for this thesis, as they speak broadly about the role of the family and kinships throughout the South Pacific. He describes these kinship systems as providing hope and potential for economic development in these South Pacific nations as noted in Chapter One. The works of researchers, such as Marcus (1987), Brown and Connell (1993b), Bertram and Watters (1986) share this view to varying degrees. They discussed the migration and remittance behaviour of the kinship groups and their importance for the island economies.

⁴ See also Cowling (1990: 301).

Fundamentally this activity of migration and remittance occurs within the family system. Therefore, one could not address the sustainability of these type of economies and their potential for development, without also recognising the capacity of the family system to establish its self in the capitalist economies. This capacity has often been questioned by researchers, with theorists such as Parsons (1949), predicting a break away from the kinship system, towards individualism and nuclear families. These ideas are discussed in Chapter Two.

However, my research in Tonga, as outlined in Chapters Four and Five suggests otherwise. There are changes and impacts to the family structure, but not with the same outcomes as suggested by Parsons. Instead these families are utilising the kinship structure to form "transnational corporation of kin", which operate within Tonga and abroad. Chapter Six considers these changes, the possible implications this has for economic development and any likely threats to the stability of the kinship system.

This then brings us back to the closing chapter, and a time to reflect. This chapter will summarise the theories and ideas noted above, bringing us back to readdressing Hau'ofa's comments, their potential not only for Tonga, but for similar economies in the South Pacific. It recognises that further investigation is required before action can be taken to change the objectives of policy makers and financiers of Tonga's economic development.

Hau'ofa's Perception

Hau'ofa (1993) reflected on his belief that the South Pacific Islands should recognise their potential in their people, and not just in the land resources they have access to. The idea of self reliance for these island groups is not a reality, because they are "too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth "(Hau'ofa, 1993: 4). Instead Hau'ofa directs his attention to the people of the South Pacific, the kinships and their mobility throughout the South Pacific. "Economists do not take account of the social centrality of the ancient practice of reciprocity, the core of all Oceanic cultures. They overlook the fact that for everything homelands relatives receive they reciprocate" (Hau'ofa, 1993: 12).

Hau'ofa sees this as offering more hope to the South Pacific people, where the interdependence between kinships internationality provide opportunities that the small land resources are unable to do. And there are others who agree with Hau'ofa. Bertram and Watters (1986) offer an unorthodox approach to economic development in the South Pacific. Focusing on the activities of the MIRAB economies and concluding such behaviour can lead to "capable self-reproduction" and a "sustainable system" (from Brown and Connell, 1993b: 4). They denote the features of the four main areas of this type of economy in their work; migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy. My research chose to focus only on two - migration and remittances - and the underlying system behind this, the family kinships.

Kinships and their Role

It is the understanding of these kinships that is fundamental to my thesis, the foundation by which they exist and the rationale as to why they continue to exist in today's capitalist society. By questioning this social and cultural dimension, I hoped to address the likelihood of the kinship structure sustaining, as opposed to breaking down into the more nuclear sized family system, seen through-out the industrialised Western world. These kinship structures are prevalent in the traditional subsistence economies. Work, family responsibilities and social activities are shared among the wider group. In Tonga this is usually called the *kainga*, which can incorporate the most distant relatives. The *kainga* tends to gather for large family events and special occasions. While the *famili* is the closer family unit, where work and family responsibilities are shared. This group is not necessarily small, as it focuses on the grandparents family, their children, and their grandchildren.

These family groups maintain the kinship system by encouraging feelings of love, commitment and reciprocity among the members. Family members are encouraged to share their food, homes, land and even their children, in a constant reminder of the importance of reciprocity and the commitment to the family. However, these feeling serve an economic function. In terms of survival it is wise for these families to work together, as land resources are scarce and the labour slow and hard. Each family

member has a role and place in the family from birth, such as the aunt. These roles provide the dimensions by which the family works, for example, the aunt has, certain rights and obligations to participate in the up bringing of the nieces and nephews.

Today Tonga is experiencing economic development, which has taken on the form of a cash society, allowing it to assimilate into the international economic environment. Families are faced with choices and concerns significantly different from those in a subsistence economy. Tongan kinships are encouraged to participate in the capitalist economy, getting paid employment and moving to the towns and overseas. This drive to move towards Nuku'alofa, the capital city, in search of work and education, has resulted in a severe land shortage, exaggerated by a restrictive land tenure system. For those who stay in Tonga, it is not only the use of land that has limitations, but also the access to advanced education and higher paid jobs. Families and individuals migrate to the Pacific rim countries, hoping to find these resources and the opportunities that they provide. In recognition of their traditional kinship system, money and goods are returned home to the islands, thus establishing the migration, remittance cycle, that Bertram and others speak of.

However, these changes are having major impacts on the traditional family structure. While family members who stay at home still appear to be highly dependent upon the continued recognition of the kinship values (commitment and reciprocity), those overseas are encouraged to make decisions based on a very different set of ideals. Ideals focused around individualism, self attainment and the small nuclear family unit. Parsons discusses these ideas in his theories on industrialisation and the family. He suggests that the kinship system is only suitable to the subsistence economies and will eventually break down as the economy develops capitalist characteristics.

Trends in which Direction?

Parsons focuses on three key areas, conceptual conflicts, differing roles and functions, and the necessary for mobility, both occupational and geographic. The first of these areas considers the conceptual differences between relationships in kinship family and those in capitalist environment. Apparently kinships base their relationships on ascribed

qualities such as the position that the person has in the family structure, for example, father or brother. Families tend to make decisions regarding the beneficiaries of resources based on the birth rights of the individual rather than on their achievements and involvement with those resources. Parsons notes that industrial economies work more along the following lines: business decisions demand some degree of objectivity, therefore applying a much more universalistic perception to relationships. Decisions are made on the achievement of the individual in relation to the demands of the decision maker, with limited regard for the role or position that person may have in their family.

Parsons discusses the fundamental conflict that arises between these two motivations for decision making. He states that the latter, an achievement orientated focus is much more effective in a capitalist environment. Therefore, the family system and its basis for decision making should play only a limited role in the economic process. Parsons goes on to say that the functions of everyday activities change in an industrialised society, limiting the roles and purposes of extended kinship members. Family members are encouraged to work outside of the home environment, they are able to derive an income independent of the other family members. The economic functions of the family are either restricted or removed.

Not only does the family offer limited functionality in the metropolitan economy, it is also perceived to limit mobility, both in occupational upward movement and geographical migration. Family members who live in different social strata as a result of their degree of education and occupational success, are considered to have different interests and priorities. Consequently a breakdown in relationships occurs and family members move apart. In a geographical sense, mobility is important for the individual to allow them to find work and advance their economic position. The family tends to restrict movement, encouraging the individuals to maintain close geographical contact, for both social and economic reasons.

In this study evidence was found to suggest that these conflicts between the kinship system and industrialisation are reconcilable, when compromises and adjustments are made. Families in Tonga have developed a feel for capitalism and have adjusted their

family relationships and obligations accordingly. The kinship system has diminished its priority to the *famili* group, limiting the economic obligations shared with the wider *kainga*, such as providing free gifts to *kainga* members.

While families still base decisions around the loyalty and commitment felt for the family, they have allowed objective decision making, such as who works in which family business, to influence the overall economic strategies for the family. Families have moved away from thinking only in terms of immediate consumption of the goods produced by fellow family members. They have developed a sense of investment, and long term commitment to the families' economic situation, recognising the need to invest, to improve the education of certain family members and to allow others to travel in order to find work. In doing this the *famili* has established new roles and functions for family members, while adjusting to the requirements for occupational and geographical separation.

These developments have created for the kinship a durability and substance, recognised by researchers such as Bertram and Watters (1986), as "transnational corporations of kin". Bertram and Watters, as well as other researchers, refer to this notion in their discussions of the migration and remittance economies. These researchers focus on the potential of these families to bring resources in from the surrounding metropolitan centres. The Tongan families I observed possessed these qualities, interacting with family members throughout the South Pacific. These families had set up extensive contacts with relatives who had obtained long term residency in countries such as New Zealand, Australia and America. These families provide the networks for other members to obtain work in these industrialised countries, to allow younger generations to obtain a Western education, and social contacts, to maintain the culture. In addition, these networks work as international business entities, importing and exporting goods to and from Tonga and Tongan communities overseas.

Hau'ofa is perceptive in his interpretation of this situation: "they maintain ancestral roots and lands for everyone, homes with warmed hearths for travellers to return ... to re-strengthen their bonds, their souls and their identities before they move on again. This

is not dependence but interdependence, which is purportedly the essence of the global system" (Hau'ofa, 1993, 12). It is this notion of the kinship system and the transnational corporation of kin, which suggest that the sustainability of the kinship system may have a more worthwhile role in the developing economies than once suspected.

The Impact on Others

The challenge is to develop a better understanding of the way in which these kinships work, not only in Tonga but also in other South Pacific countries. While this thesis addresses these issues, and makes suggestions as to the possible strengths of kinship, it does not and can not make any conclusions as to the future of Tonga kinships or kinships structures generally. What it does do is to recognise some of the changes that have occurred in the Tongan kinship system allowing it to work more effectively in the capitalist environment.

The thesis also alludes to some of the implications of this for the sustainability of the remittance and migration economies, and identifies some of the external factors that these families are dependent upon for their continued existence. It is these factors, such as land tenure issues, politics both at home and overseas, educational support from outside sources and migration policies, that countries such as New Zealand may have some influence over, particularly through recognising the continued value of the family system as an extended unit, and endeavouring to support this, where possible, in their decision making processes.

It is Hau'ofa who concludes this discussion with his desires and hopes for the South Pacific people. Hau'ofa perceives the South Pacific Islands not as "Islands in the vast sea", remote, poorly endowed and limited in resources, but rather as a "Sea of Islands", interlinked with each other and the Pacific rim countries by the strength of the kinship networks (Hau'ofa, 1993).

Appendix 1: Case Studies from the Field Research in Tonga, September 1995

Primary Interviewee

(Often more than one member of the family was involved 'in the discussions. However, the Case Study has been written from the view point of the Primary interviewee).

Study No:	Gender	Status in the family	Age	Occupation	No of siblings:	Island Group	Town	The Countries where Kinship Members Reside.
1	Female	Second Daughter	30-40	Bank Teller	3	Ha'apai	Pangi	Tonga
2	Female	Eldest Daughter	20-30	Teacher	5	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand
3	Female	Eldest Daughter	40-50	Religious worker	8	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand, Australia
4	Female	Youngest Daughter	10-20	Student	4	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand
5	Male	Youngest Son	20-30	Student	6	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, Niue, New Zealand
6	Female	Youngest Daughter	20-30	Administrator	11	Ha'apai	Pangi	Tonga, New Zealand, U.S.A.
7	Female	Youngest Daughter	20-30	Student	6	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, Canada, New Zealand
8	Female	Third Daughter	30-40	Shop Owner	5	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand
9	Female	Second Daughter	50-60	Shop Owner	5	Ha'apai	Pangi	Tonga
10	Female	Second Daughter	10-20	Student	4	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand, U.S.A.
11	Female	Third Daughter	20-30	Home Support	6	Vava'u	Neiafu	Tonga, New Zealand
12	Female	Second Daughter	20-30	Shop Owner	4	Ha'apai	Pangi	Tonga, New Zealand
13	Male	Eldest Brother	40-50	Shop Owner	5	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand, U.S.A.
14	Male	Second Brother	40-50	Taxi driver	5	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand
15	Female	Third Daughter	20-30	Administrator	4	Tongatapu	Nuku'alofa	Tonga, New Zealand, U.S.A.

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